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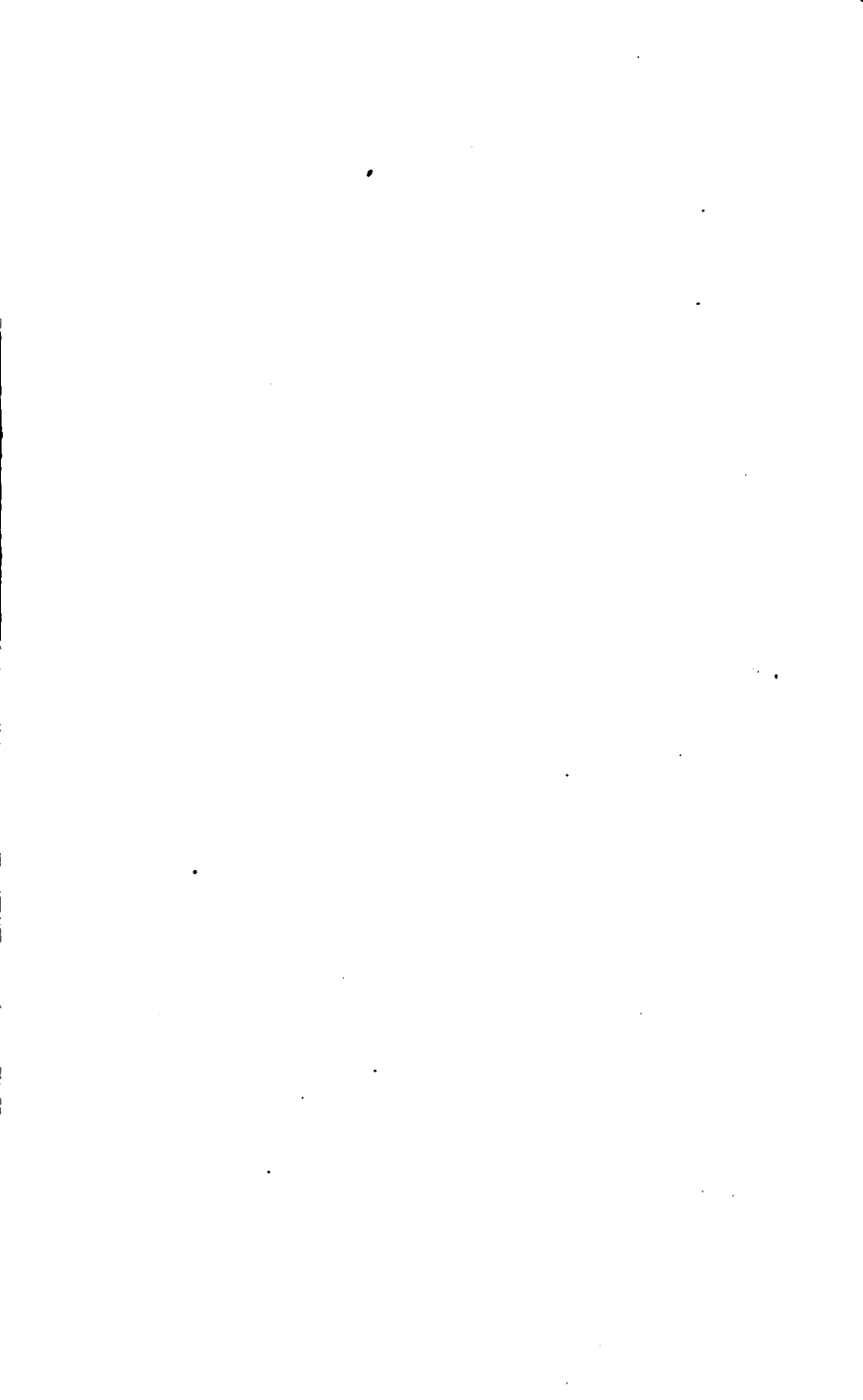
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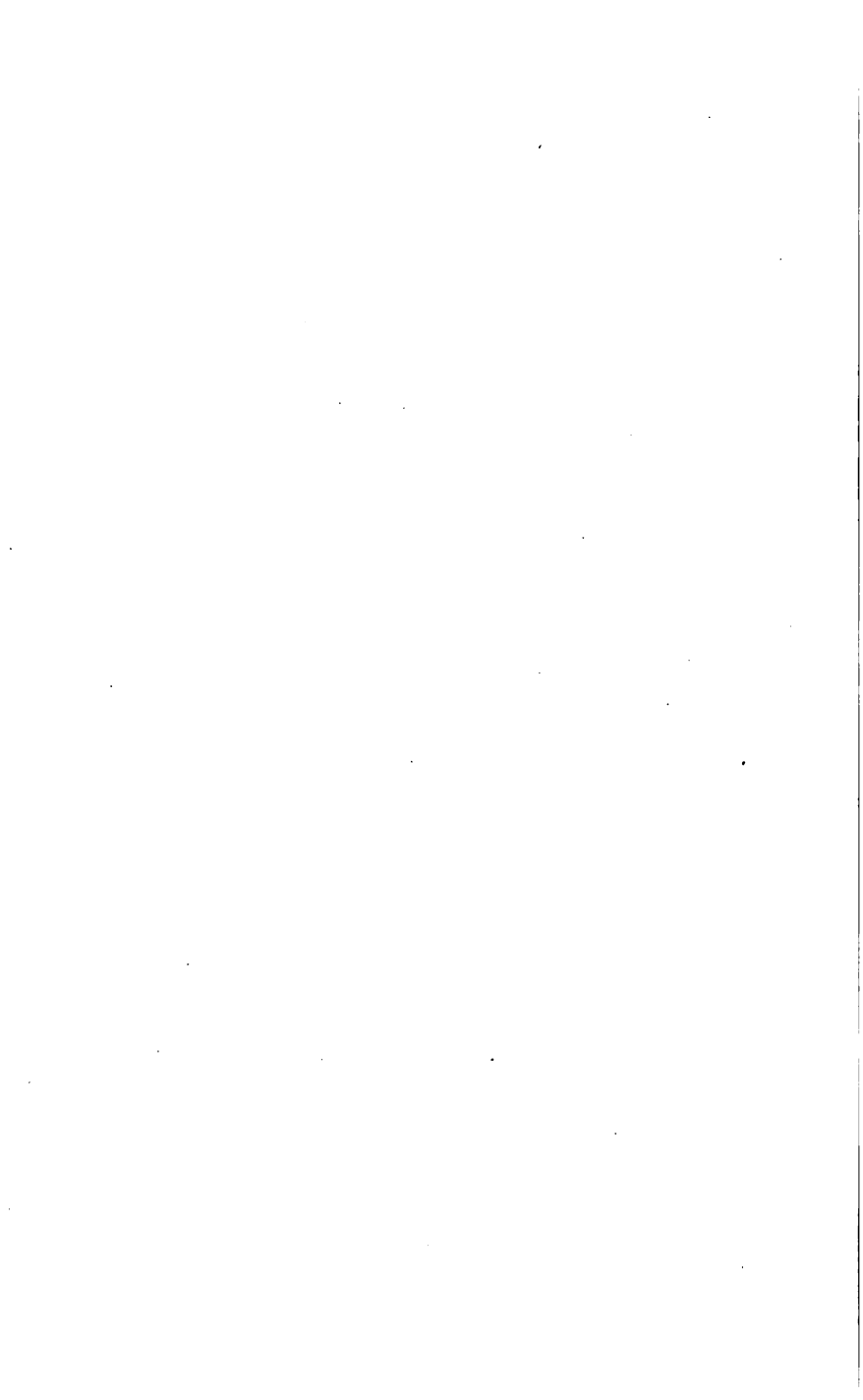


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COURSE N<sup>o</sup>. I.

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6

A

FULL PREPARATORY COURSE  
OF  
LATIN PROSE

CONSISTING OF

FOUR BOOKS OF CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR  
SALLUST'S CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE  
EIGHT ORATIONS OF CICERO, AND  
DE SENECTUTE (*Cato Major*)

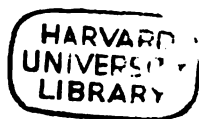
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J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH

BOSTON  
GINN BROTHERS

1875

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GAI IVLI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

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# CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR

*FOUR BOOKS*

*Οὕτω δὲ ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἶρηκεν.*

STRABO iv. 1.

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EDITED BY J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH

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BOSTON

PUBLISHED BY GINN BROTHERS

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1875

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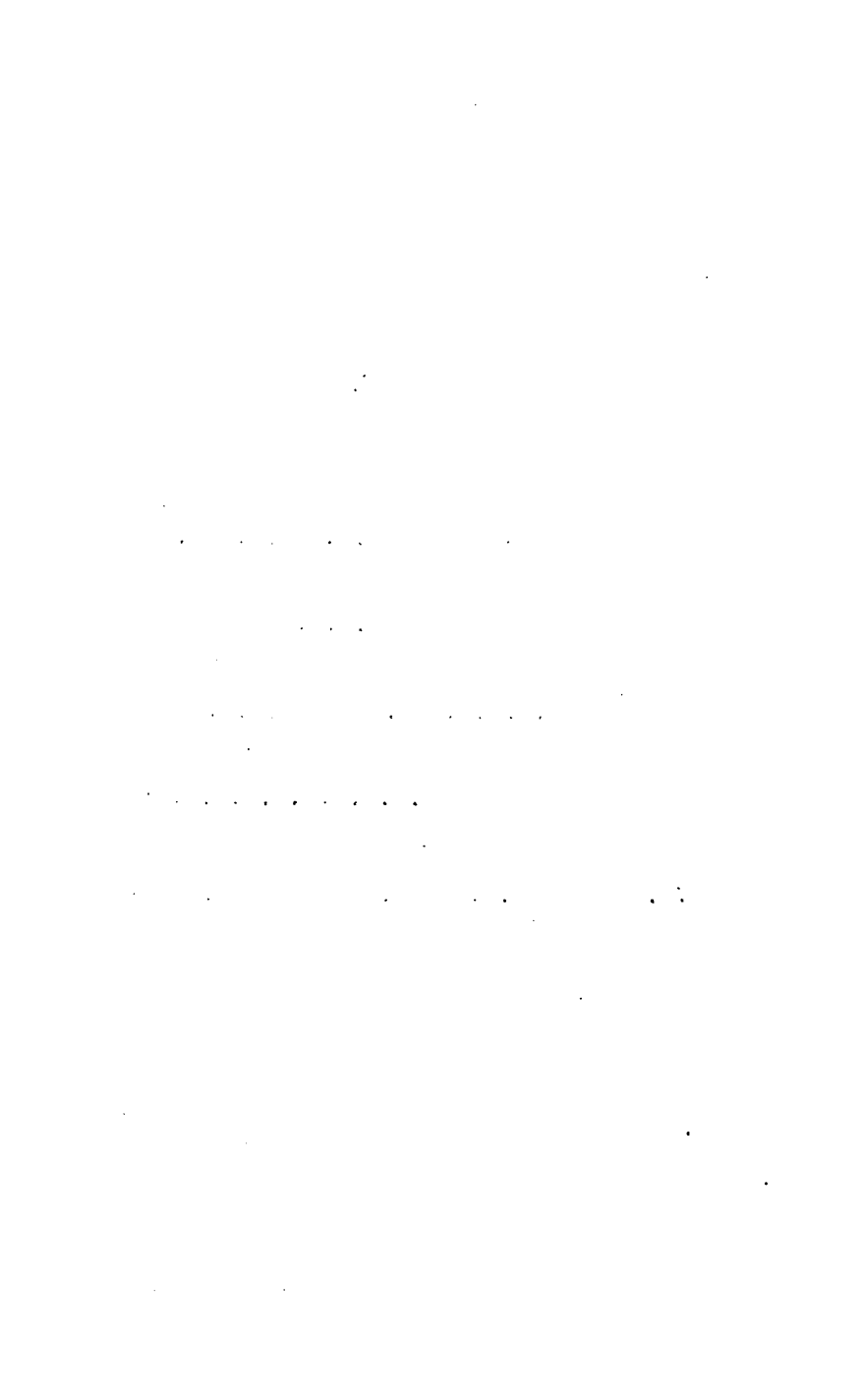
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THIS edition follows, with slight changes of orthography, the text of Nipperdey, the more important various readings being given in the notes. It is believed to be an advantage even to the youngest learner to deal with a standard text, and to know something of those variations which make the reading of an ancient classic differ from that of a modern author. In illustration of the narrative, constant use has been made of the more recent authorities, Mommsen, Long, Merivale, and the "History of Julius Cæsar" by Napoleon III., with the excellent school edition of Moberly. Much care has been taken, with the earlier portion especially, to furnish in the notes a guide to the thorough study of syntactical construction, for which no author is, by general consent, so well adapted as Cæsar.

The present volume contains the first four books of the Gallic War. A second part, when published, will contain the remaining books, with the three of the Civil War.

CAMBRIDGE, July 1, 1874.





## THE LIFE OF CÆSAR.

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CARIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born, by the common account, July 12, B.C. 100; or, by a probable reckoning, two years earlier.\* When "almost a boy," he was made a priest of Jupiter by Marius, his uncle by marriage. When still a youth of 18 or 20, he boldly refused to divorce his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, and barely escaped the proscription of Sulla, who "saw many a Marius in that young man."

Though of patrician birth, Cæsar was thus early allied with the popular party, which began to make head directly after the dictator's death. He went through the usual course of political honors to which a Roman of the higher ranks felt himself entitled. At the age of 35 (assuming the earlier date) he was Quæstor in Further Spain. Two years later he was Curule Ædile, an office which gave great opportunity to court popular honor, in its charge of public games and exhibitions.† By this time he was recognized as a party leader who would not scruple at the most daring and questionable measures, and was even suspected of having a hand in the schemes of Catiline.

\* The common date rests on the statement of Plutarch, Suetonius, and Appian, that he died at the age of 56. On the other hand : 1. Marius, who died B.C. 86, would hardly have given a priesthood to a child of 13; 2. he received the usual honors, by the common reckoning, each two years earlier than the legal age; 3. certain coins struck by him in B.C. 49 have the date LII., apparently the years of his age.

† In Cæsar's games, "all the equipments, even the cages of the wild beasts, appeared of massive silver; and by a liberality which was all the more princely, that it was based solely on the contraction of debt" (in Latin phrase, "paid by other men's money").

In B.C. 63 he was elected Pontifex Maximus,—that is, official head of the state religion,—in opposition to the leader of the aristocracy, Quintus Catulus. This was an open declaration of war against the governing aristocracy. Cæsar, it is said, refused a large offer made by Catulus to buy him off the course; and when the day of election came said to his mother, who would have kept him out of the struggle, “To-day shall see me *pontifex maximus* or an exile.” The holy office alone could protect him from his creditors.

At this period Cæsar was chiefly known as a dissolute debtor and demagogue. Before leaving for his province, he was obliged to find security to the amount of 800 talents,—more than a million dollars. He is reported to have said, in his reckless way, that he wanted four million sesterces to be worth just nothing at all. But in Further Spain, as *pro-prætor* (B.C. 62), he displayed the civil and military ability which afterwards made him famous, as well as the financial ability which enabled him to pay off his debts in one campaign.

He returned to Rome the following year, and soon formed a political coalition with Pompey and Crassus, his contribution to the common stock being his influence in the political clubs and control of votes. This coalition is sometimes called “the first triumvirate.”\* One part of the bargain was that Cæsar should have the consulship for the next year (B.C. 59), and after that the government of Gaul for five years.† This embraced the three provinces of *Gallia Nar-*

\* The term “triumvirate” means properly a commission or board of three men, invested by law with special powers and functions. This was the case with the triumvirate of Octavianus (Augustus), Antony, and Lepidus; but this earlier one was only a private knot of political aspirants.

† It was a law that both consuls and prætors should have their power (*imperium*) continued for a year after their term of office, and, under the title proconsul or *proprætor*, govern one of the military provinces. If the proconsul was not relieved at the end of the year, his power continued by the necessity of the case. In one

*bonensis*, *Gallia Cisalpina* (North Italy), and *Illyricum*. Crassus and Pompey received no special authority at first, but remained in the city, ostensibly as private persons, to look after the interests of the coalition. This was further strengthened by the marriage of Pompey with Cæsar's young and beautiful daughter Julia.

After two successful campaigns in Gaul, in the spring of B.C. 56, Cæsar met his two confederates at Luca, in Etruria, to arrange their future schemes. The conference was held with great display, almost like a royal court. More than 200 senators were present, and 120 lictors were in attendance, attached to the several magistrates. At this conference it was agreed that Pompey and Crassus should hold the consulship the following year, and, after their term of office, should receive by popular vote a similar command to that held by Cæsar, — namely, that Pompey should command in Spain and Crassus in Syria for five years each; also that, when Cæsar's five years were up, he should receive in the same way a second term of five years. His ten years' administration would then close at the end of B.C. 49; after which time — an interval of ten years having elapsed — he would be eligible again as consul.

The programme was duly carried out. Crassus departed (B.C. 54) to his province, where he was defeated the next year by the Parthians in the battle of Carrhæ, and shortly after entrapped and killed. Pompey put his province in the hands of one of his subordinates, and remained in the neighborhood of Rome, unwilling to remove from the seat of his personal influence. The death of his wife Julia (B.C. 54) soon sundered the ties which bound him to Cæsar.

instance, that of Pompey, an extraordinary power was conferred upon the proconsul by act of the people (the Manilian Law). Regularly, however, the assignment of provinces was reckoned a part of the administrative powers of the Senate; and a law of Caius Gracchus directed that the consular provinces should be determined before the election, — that is, a year and a half in advance, — and then that the consuls should draw lots which to have.

Jealous from the first, he gradually became openly hostile to him; and at last he found himself leader of the Senate and the aristocracy against his revolutionary schemes.

The remainder of Cæsar's life belongs to the general history of Rome. At the close of the Gallic war, the senatorial party required that he should disband his army. This he refused to do, unless Pompey should make an equal surrender of military force. From these demands grew the charge of false play on each side, until the Civil War broke out (B.C. 49), and Pompey fled to Greece, where he was defeated the following year at Pharsalia. After his death, and the complete destruction of his party, Cæsar returned to Rome; \* where, under the title and authority of Perpetual Dictator, he laid the first foundations of the imperial constitution. His reforms — some of them necessary, some enlightened and wise far beyond the statesmanship of his time — provoked the hate of a fanatic party, who vainly thought to restore the Republic; and on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, he was murdered in the Senate-house, by a conspiracy under the lead of Marcus Brutus.

#### GAUL AND GERMANY.

The district upon whose government Cæsar entered in the spring of B.C. 58 consisted primarily of the two Gallic provinces, Cisalpine and Transalpine. Cisalpine Gaul was the northern portion of Italy, which had been several centuries earlier occupied by invaders from Gaul proper, and which was not yet reckoned as politically a part of Italy: it was a wealthy, populous, and orderly country, the proconsul's main dependence for troops and supplies, and his regular winter residence. Transalpine or Narbonnese Gaul received its name from its capital, the Roman colony Narbo.

\* It is a remarkable illustration of Roman feeling, that, on the day of his triumph, Cæsar, the epicurean rationalist, mounted on his knees the long flight of steps that led up to the Capitol, that by this act of ostentatious humility he might avert those divine judgments supposed to be provoked by inordinate felicity.

It contained some thriving cities and peaceful districts; but it had as a whole been only recently brought under the authority of Rome, and was still essentially a foreign country. It comprised the whole coast of the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the Alps, its northern boundary being an irregular and uncertain line, separating the conquered nations of Gaul from those which were still free. To these two provinces was attached Illyricum, which was a source of strength, but did not receive much of his attention.

The authority of the governor over his province was that of a military commander, who was not amenable to the laws which protected the citizens in Rome. A few privileged cities or nations, as the old Greek city Massilia, and the allied tribe of the Ædui (after they were brought within the limits of the empire), were wholly exempted from his authority; but all other parts of the province, even Roman colonies like Narbo, were liable to tribute, and more or less under the jurisdiction of the governor. Each province had its financial officer, or quæstor, who ranked next the governor himself: the commander was likewise attended by staff-officers, *legati* (usually three in number), appointed by the Senate from persons of rank and position; and by an indefinite number of aids, *contubernales* or *comites*, who composed what was sometimes, but incorrectly, called the prætorian cohort. A consular army consisted regularly of two legions (at this time of from 3,000 to 3,600 men); to these were added auxiliaries, both foot and horse, while the governor had power to levy new legions as he required them. Thus we find that Cæsar had six legions in his campaign against the Nervii.

The free territories adjoining a Roman province were in no respect under the authority of the governor; but they were regarded as a legitimate field for his ambition, and there was no lack of pretexts for war. The Roman policy was to enter into friendly relations with one of the parties or tribes in the free territory, load this with favors and privileges, and make use of it to overcome their rivals; in Gaul the Ædui were the favored nation.

Cæsar's province, at its western extremity, touched Spain, a country which had belonged to the empire for more than 150 years. North of it lay three great nationalities, with all of which he was brought in contact. There were the Gauls, the Germans, and the Britons.

Free Gaul (*Libera Gallia*) consisted of all the unsubdued territory between the Pyrenees on the one side, and the Rhine and the Alps on the other, thus comprising, in general, modern France and Belgium, with parts of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The central portion of this territory, fully a half in extent and population, was occupied by Gauls proper, or, as they called themselves, Celts. Southwest of these were the Aquitani, of Iberian race, cognate to the Spanish. Northeast were the Belgians, whose ethnic affinities are much disputed; all that can be considered certain is that they were largely mixed with Germans.

The Gauls were an intellectual and prosperous people, far more civilized than either Germans or Britons. The country, though extensively covered with forests, especially towards the north, was well provided with roads and bridges. The entire population has been reckoned at about seven millions. The people of the Gallic race were tall, fair-complexioned, of restless, sanguine temperament, and addicted to fighting; but skilled in many arts,—some portions in weaving; the Aquitani, especially, in mining and engineering; and the Bretons (*Veneti*) in open-sea navigation, which they followed with stout high-built ships, leather sails, and iron chain-cables. Their dress included trousers and shirts with sleeves; they had a barbaric-taste for gaudy ornament; their arms were showy, but clumsy and ineffective beside the tempered weapons of the Romans.

With their culture, however, had come degeneracy in many shapes. They were divided into violently hostile factions, through which they fell an easy prey to the invader. They had numerous flourishing cities; which, however, had no political power, like those of Greece and Italy, but were merely places of residence and trade. Their government

had fallen under the control of an arrogant and luxurious aristocracy, and their religion under a cruel and domineering priesthood. Of the two great factions, into which they were divided, the Ædui were the leaders in one, and they had thought to gain supremacy by entering into alliance with Romans. Their antagonists, the Sequani, had naturally looked in the opposite direction for allies, and found them in the Germans.

The Germans occupied nearly the same territory as at the present day; not so far west as now, but on the other hand extending farther to the east. Less advanced in civilization than the Gauls, they were still far from being savages. They appear to have been just emerging from what is known as the barbarous state, — beginning to acquire fixed habitations, and to cultivate the ground: they had no cities. They had brought with them from their migrations a remarkable political system, based upon an original community of origin, in which the patriarchal organization had already expanded into a multitude of petty nations, grouped into larger combinations of race. Their institutions were thoroughly democratic; they had noble families, but these possessed no political prerogatives; they elected kings, whose power was hardly greater than that of their general magistrates.

“The tribes which descended upon Britain had entered Europe not as a set of savages or wandering pastoral tribes, or mere pirates and warriors, but as colonists, who, rude as they may have been in dress and manners, yet, in essential points, were already a civilized people.” Various considerations, says a recent writer, make it probable “that the Germans had come down from the northeast not very long before the Christian era, and intruded themselves, as a wedge, between those two more anciently recorded nations (Scythians and Celts). . . . We shall see evidence of the continuous advance of a civilized race from the confines of India to these islands, and nothing indicative of a great rush from the North of wild hordes bent upon robbery and destruction, as it has been usually represented to have been. The gradual drying of the Caspian Sea left the interior of Asia more and more barren; the knowledge



of the useful metals facilitated the conquest of the savages of the West; and predatory bands of Huns and Turks, and allied nomadic nations, are likely to have accelerated the movement, by rendering the labors of agriculture less remunerative. Thus the migration, being one that proceeded from constantly acting causes, extended over many centuries. . . .

“In these mere names [of plants and fruits], setting aside all other sources of information, we discover that these people came from their home in the East with a knowledge of letters and the useful metals, and with nearly all the domestic animals; that they cultivated oats, barley, wheat, rye, and beans; built houses of timber, and thatched them; and what is important, as showing that their pasture and arable land was intermixed, and acknowledged as private property, they hedged their fields and fenced their gardens. Cæsar denies this; but the frontier tribes, with whom he was acquainted, were living under certain peculiar Mark laws, and were, in fact, little else than an army on its march. The unquestionably native, and not Latin or Celtic, origin of such names as *Beach* and *Hawthorn*, of *Oats* and *Wheat*, prove that although our ancestry may have been indebted to the provincials of the empire for their fruit-trees, and some other luxuries, for a knowledge of the fine arts, and the Latin literature, and a debased Christianity, the more essential acquirements, upon which their prosperity and progress as a nation depended, were already in their possession.”—PRIOR, *Popular Names of British Plants*. Intro. 1863.

The Britons were, like the Gauls, of Celtic race, and resembled them in every respect, except that, being further from the civilized world, they were ruder, freer, and more warlike.

It was the destiny of Julius Cæsar to bring the great Gallic people into the system of civilization and government represented by Rome: it was a definite and large extension of the bounds of civilized society. From him, too, we have the earliest authentic accounts of the other two nationalities, the Germans and the Britons.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL.

The campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul lasted through eight seasons (B.C. 58–51), and are told in eight books,—the last

written by Hirtius, an officer of Cæsar, — each book containing the operations of a single year. The following is a brief outline : —

I. Cæsar checks the attempt of the Helvetians to colonize in Western Gaul, and forces them, after a bloody defeat, to return to their own territory. He then engages with a powerful tribe of Germans, who had made a military settlement in Eastern Gaul, and drives them, with their chief Ariovistus, beyond the Rhine.

II. A formidable confederacy of the northern populations of Gaul is suppressed, with the almost complete extermination of the bravest Belgian tribe, the Nervii, in a battle which seems to have been one of the most desperate of all Cæsar ever fought. In this campaign, the coast towns of the west and northwest (Brittany) are reduced to submission.

III. After a brief conflict with the mountaineers of the Alps, who attacked the Roman armies on their march, the chief operations are the conquest of the coast tribes of Brittany (Veneti, etc.), in a warfare of curious naval engineering in the shallow tide-water inlets and among the rocky shores. During the season, the tribes of the south-west (Aquitani), a mining population, allied to the Iberians or Basques, are reduced by one of Cæsar's officers.

IV. An attack from the Germans on northern Gaul is repulsed ; and Cæsar follows them, by a bridge of timber hastily built, across the Rhine. Returning, he crosses to Britain in the early autumn, for a visit of exploration.

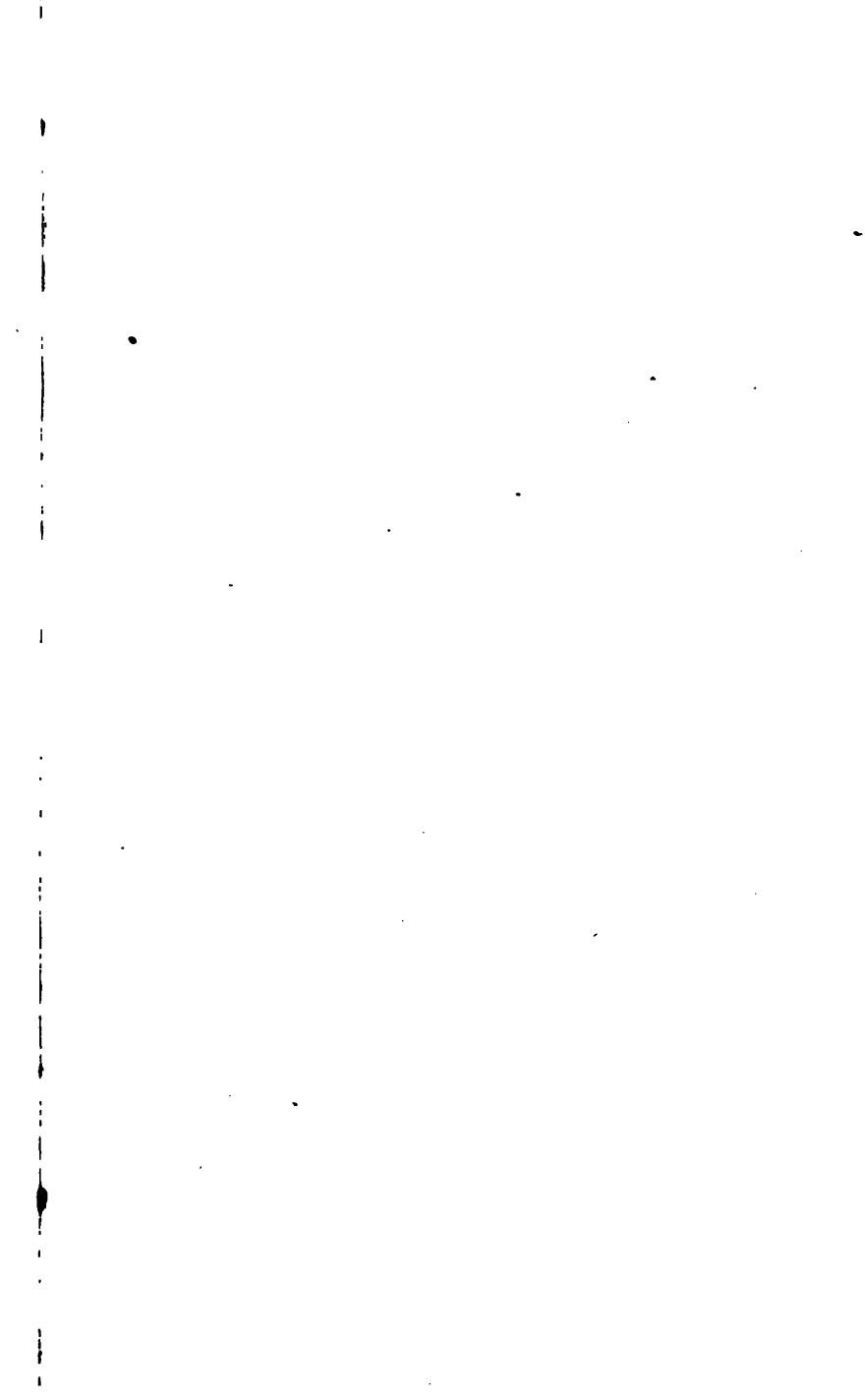
V. The partial conquest of Britain (second invasion) is followed by various movements in northern Gaul, in which the desperate condition of the Roman garrisons is relieved by the prudent and brave conduct of Labienus and Quintus Cicero.

VI. Cæsar makes a brief expedition across the Rhine, against the Germans. Some general disturbances are quelled, and northern Gaul is reduced to peace.

VII. Vercingetorix, a brave and high-spirited chief of southern Gaul, effects a confederacy of the whole country, which is at length subdued. Vercingetorix, in brilliant equipment, surrenders himself, to secure the quiet of the country, and is taken in chains to Rome, where he is afterwards put to death in Cæsar's triumph.

VIII. Slight insurrections, breaking out here and there, are easily subdued ; and the subjugation of Gaul is made complete.



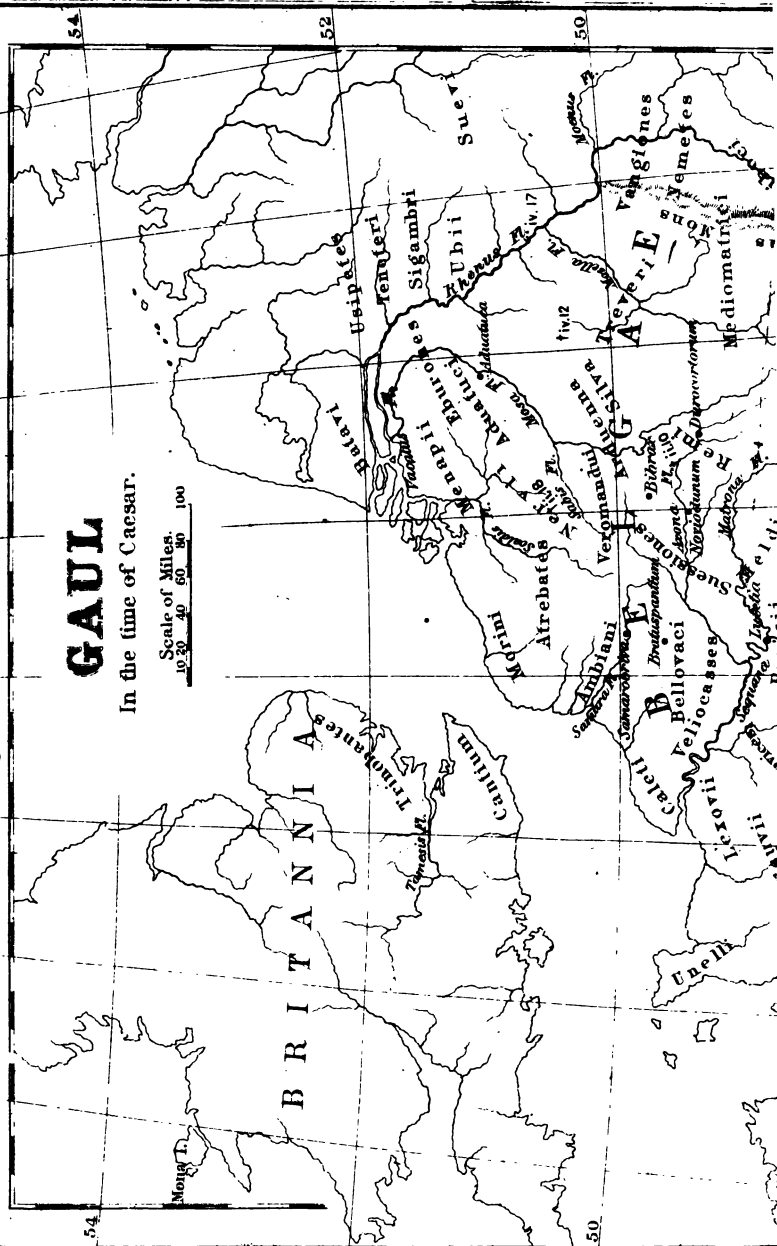


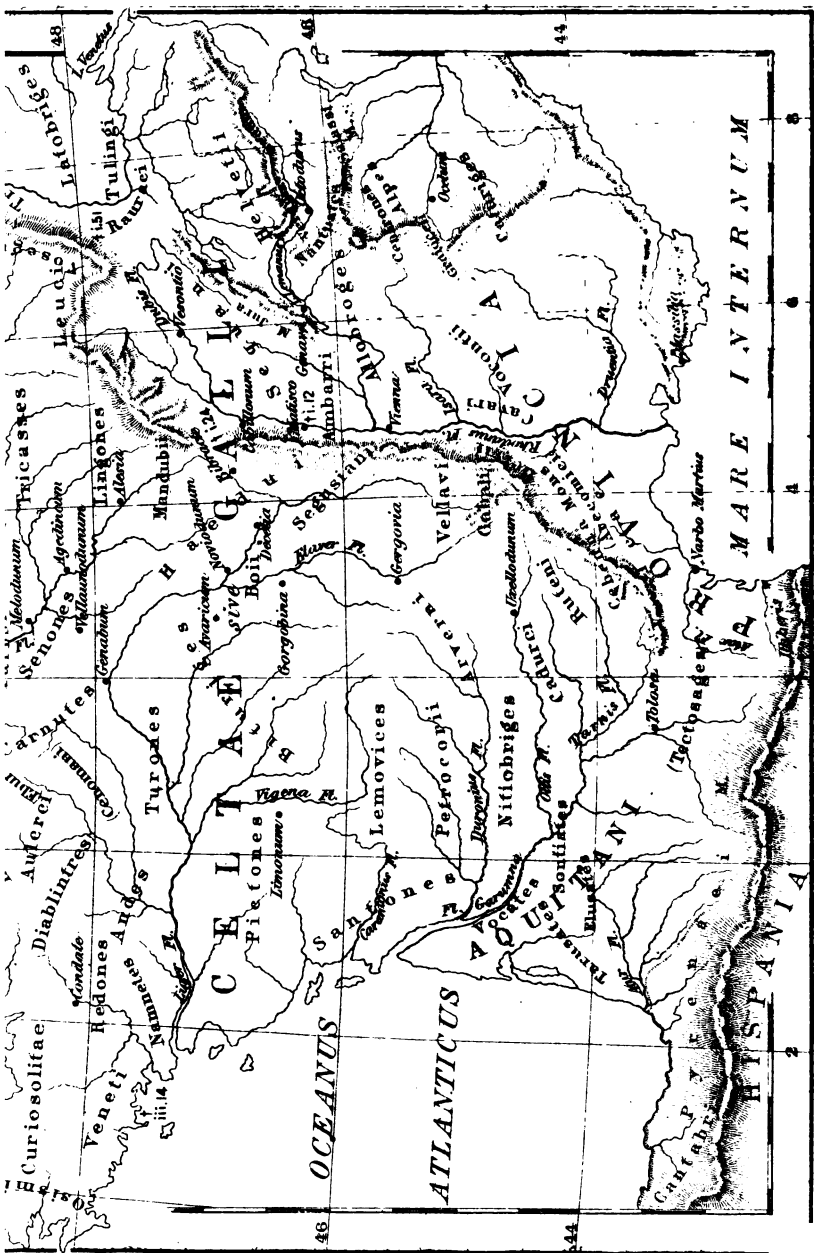
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# GAUL

In the time of Caesar.

Scale of Miles.  
10 20 40 60 80 100







# THE GALLIC WAR.

## BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION: Description of Gaul (Chap. 1).

THE HELVETIAN WAR. — Orgetorix, an Helvetian chief, plans the invasion of Gaul: he conspires with the chiefs of several Gallic tribes; is brought to trial, escapes, and is put under the ban; soon afterwards dies (2-4). The Helvetians complete their preparations, and gather near the Rhone, requesting leave to pass peaceably through the Province. Cæsar delays them by pretexts, while he hastily throws up an earthwork to prevent their crossing the river. They attempt the passage, but are repulsed (5-8). Forming a league with the Sequani, they penetrate and ravage the territory of the Ædui, friends of Rome, who solicit protection. Cæsar, levying a force of upwards of 30,000, overtakes and cuts to pieces their rear-guard (*Tigurini*), at the crossing of the Arar (9-12). An embassy of the Helvetians, headed by the aged Divico, leads to no result. A cavalry skirmish, in which the Romans are worsted, together with the delay of supplies, shows the bad faith of a party among the Ædui, headed by Dumnorix; who is arrested, but spared on the intercession of his brother Divitiacus, and put under close guard by Cæsar (13-20). Cæsar makes preparations for attack, but is prevented by a false alarm, and moves towards Bibracte. The Helvetians, now well in advance, turn about for battle. They are forced to retreat to a hill, and attempt to flank the Romans; but are completely routed, and fly towards the north (21-26). They are at length forced to surrender. Six thousand escape, but are retaken, and put to death. The remainder are compelled to return to Helvetia, and rebuild the villages which they had destroyed (27-29).

THE WAR WITH ARIOVISTUS. — The chief populations of Gaul seek terms of amity, representing the condition of the country, especially under the invasions of the German Ariovistus, by whom the Sequani are chiefly oppressed (30-33). Cæsar sends envoys



to him, but receiving a haughty reply sets out on a forced march towards the German frontier (34-38). His men are greatly terrified, but are cheered by his assurances, especially of reliance on the tenth legion (39-41). At the request of Ariovistus, a conference is held, but is broken up by signs of bad faith among the Germans (42-46). A second conference, proposed by Ariovistus, is refused, and he throws into chains the messengers sent by Cæsar. After a cavalry skirmish, an indecisive battle follows, and the Germans fall back to their camp (47-50). Cæsar attacks the camp: the Germans, marshalled by tribes, defend their families and equipage. A close and furious engagement follows, in which the Germans are routed and driven to the Rhine. Ariovistus escapes, a part of his household is taken, and Cæsar returns to his winter quarters (51-54).

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. <sup>2</sup> Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. <sup>3</sup> Qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. <sup>4</sup> Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. <sup>5</sup> Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos

montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet, spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is, M. Messala et M. Pisone consulibus, regni cupiditate inductus, conjurationem nobilitatis fecit, et civitati persuasit ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. <sup>2</sup>Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus  fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur, et minus facile finitumis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adiciebantur. <sup>4</sup>Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3. His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti, constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare, jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coemere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. <sup>2</sup>Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt, in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. <sup>3</sup>Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio; Sequano, cujus pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat, et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Haeduo,

fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. <sup>4</sup> Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. <sup>5</sup> Hac oratione adducti, inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, et regno occupato, per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos, totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinclis causam dicere coëgerunt. Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. <sup>2</sup> Die constituta causae dictionis, Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. <sup>3</sup> Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspitio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem, nihilo minus Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt; frumentum omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut — domum reditionis spe sublata — paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. <sup>2</sup> Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti, eodem usi consilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur; Boiosque, qui

trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Joram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: <sup>2</sup> alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius; propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit, isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Genua. <sup>3</sup> Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros (quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur) existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. <sup>4</sup> Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis, diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr., L. Pisone A. Gabinio consulibus.

7. Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci, et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit, et ad Genuam pervenit. <sup>2</sup> Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat — erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una; pontem, qui erat ad Genuam, jubet rescindi. <sup>3</sup> Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt, nobilissimos civitatis, cujus legationis Nammeius et Verudoctius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent ‘sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat.’ <sup>4</sup> Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Hel-

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vetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines inimico animo, data facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi, temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existimabat. <sup>5</sup> Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respondit diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid vellent, ad Id. Apr. reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem, murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim, fossamque perducit. <sup>2</sup> Eo opere perfecto, praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. <sup>8</sup> Ubi ea dies quam constituerat cum legatis venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare; et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit. <sup>4</sup> Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnumquam interdum, saepius noctu, si percurrere possent conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua, Sequanis invitis, propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Haeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. <sup>2</sup> Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat; et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat, et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. <sup>8</sup> Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Se-

quani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Haeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. <sup>2</sup>Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. <sup>3</sup>Ob eas causas, ei munitioni quam fecerat T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit, et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. <sup>4</sup>Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant, et in Haeduorum fines pervenerant, eorumque agros populabantur. Haedui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: <sup>2</sup>‘Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint.’ <sup>3</sup>Eodem tempore Haedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Haeduorum, Caesarem certiores faciunt, sese, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. <sup>4</sup>Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad

Caesarem recipiunt, et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. <sup>6</sup> Quibus rebus adductus, Caesar non expectandū sibi statuit, dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Haeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. <sup>2</sup> Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est, tres jam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse; de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. <sup>3</sup> Eos impeditos et inppinantes adgressus, magnam partem eorum cōcidit: reliqui sese fugae mandarunt, atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur *Tigurinus*: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est. <sup>4</sup> Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria L. Cassium consulem interfecerat, et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita sive casu, sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. <sup>5</sup> Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est; quod ejus soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio quo Cassium interfecerant.

† 13. Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum traducit. <sup>2</sup> Helvetii, repentino ejus adventu commoti, cum id quod ipsi diebus xx aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. <sup>3</sup> Is ita cum Caesare egit:

‘ Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani, et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. <sup>4</sup> Quod improvise unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret, aut ipsos despiceret; se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent, aut insidiis niterentur. <sup>5</sup> Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internecone exercitus nomen caperet, aut memoriam proderet.’

14. His Caesar ita respondit: ‘ Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: <sup>2</sup> qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellexeret quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. ~~X~~ <sup>3</sup> Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? <sup>4</sup> Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. <sup>5</sup> Con-suesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. ~~X~~ <sup>6</sup> Cum ea ita sint, tamen si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat, et si Haeduis de injuriis quas ipsi sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum.’ <sup>7</sup> Divico



respondit: 'Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuerint; ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem.' Hoc responso dato, discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar, equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Haeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant quas in partes hostes iter faciant. <sup>2</sup> Qui, cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti, alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. <sup>3</sup> Quo proelio sublatis Helvetiis, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere nonnumquam, et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. <sup>4</sup> Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus, populationibusque prohibere. <sup>5</sup> Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinque aut sex milibus passuum interesset.

16. Interim cotidie Caesar Haeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub septentrionibus (ut ante dictum est) posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat: eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea minus uti poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetiis averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. <sup>2</sup> Diem ex die ducere Haedui: conferri, conportari, adesse, dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, — in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat quem vergobretum appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus, et vitae

necisque in suos habet potestatem, —<sup>8</sup> graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque ~~emi~~ neque ex agris ~~sumi~~ posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur; praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum suscepit, multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

17. Tum ~~demum~~ Liscus, oratione Caesaris adductus, quod antea tacuerat proponit: ‘Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. <sup>2</sup>Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterere, ne frumentum conferant, quod praestare debeant: si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia praeferre; neque dubitare [debeant] quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Haeduis libertatem sint erepturi. <sup>3</sup>Ab eisdem nostra consilia, quaeque in castris gerantur, hostibus enuntiari; hos a se coerceri non posse. ~~Quin~~ etiam, quod necessario rem coactus Caesari enuntiavit, intellegere sese quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.’

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat; sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet. <sup>2</sup>Quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: ‘Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum. <sup>3</sup>Complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Haeduum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. <sup>4</sup>His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse, et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; ~~X~~magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu

semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse; atque (hujus potentiae causa) matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse. <sup>6</sup> Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta, et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. <sup>6</sup> Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea quam habeat gratia, desperare. <sup>7</sup> Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus, — nam equitatu, quem auxilio Caesari Haedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat: eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum. V

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspensiones certissimae res accederent, — quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, — satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. <sup>2</sup> His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animus offenderet verebatur. <sup>3</sup> Itaque prius quam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet, et quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per C. Valerium Proclitum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat,

cum eo colloquitur; <sup>4</sup> simul commonefacit quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta; et ostendit quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit; petit atque hortatur, ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuatur, vel civitatem statuere jubeat. ✕

20. Divitiacus, multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus, obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: <sup>2</sup> 'Scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adulescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur; sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. <sup>3</sup> Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur.' <sup>4</sup> Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar ejus dextram prenit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat; tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et reipublicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. <sup>5</sup> Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit, quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspitiones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit. ✕

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent misit. <sup>2</sup> Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis

*when* ducibus qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit, equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. <sup>3</sup>P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce, cum summus mons a Labieno teneatur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admissio ad eum accurrit; <sup>2</sup>dicit montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri; id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. <sup>3</sup>Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat, proelioque abstinebat. <sup>4</sup>Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri, et Helvetios castra movisse, et Considium, timore perterritum, quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiassse. Eo die, quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

\* 23. Postridie eius diei, quod omnino bīdium supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Haeduum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum xviii aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit: iter ab Helvetiis avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. <sup>2</sup>Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. <sup>3</sup>Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, proe-

lium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt. 4

24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. <sup>2</sup> Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranarum [ita uti supra]; sed in summo iugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia conlocari, ac totum montem hominibus compleri, et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri, et eum ab his qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri iussit. <sup>3</sup> Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti, impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confer-tissima acie, rejecto nostro equitatu, phalange facta, sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore, pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. <sup>2</sup> Ea disiecta, gladiis dstrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et conligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut, diu jactato brachio, praeoptarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare. <sup>3</sup> Tandem vulneribus defessi, et pedem referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. <sup>4</sup> Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter xv agmen hostium claudabant, et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto adgressi circumvenire <sup>5</sup> et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare

et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret; tertia, ut venientes sustineret. X

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. <sup>2</sup> Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesp<sup>er</sup>um pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant, et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque matras ac tragulas subiciebant, nostrosque vulnerabant. X<sup>3</sup> Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. <sup>4</sup> Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia cxxx superfuerunt, eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso, in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum, et propter sepulturam occisorum, nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. <sup>5</sup> Caesar ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve alia re juvarent: qui si juvissent, se eodem loco quo Helvetios habiturum. Ipse, triduo intermisso, cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit. X

27. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditioe ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent, seque ad pedes projecissent, suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum exspectare jussisset, paruerunt. <sup>2</sup> Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum milia vi ejus pagi qui Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis

traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi, ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt. ✕

28. Quod ubi Caesar rescit, quorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes, obsidibus, armis, per-fugis traditis, in deditionem accepit. <sup>2</sup> Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit; et quod, omnibus fructibus amissis, domi nihil erat quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent; ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere iussit. <sup>3</sup> Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent, et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. <sup>4</sup> Boios, petentibus Haeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. <sup>2</sup> Quarum omnium rerum summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia xxxvi, Latobrigorum XIII, Rauracorum xxiii, Boiorum xxxii; ex his qui arma ferre possent, ad milia xcii. <sup>3</sup> Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia ccclxviii. Eorum qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium c et x. ✕



30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto, totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt: 'Intellegere sese, tamen si pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse; <sup>2</sup>propterea quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent.' <sup>3</sup>Petierunt, uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicare idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. <sup>4</sup>Ea re permissa, diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

31. Eo concilio dimisso, idem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt, petieruntque, uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. <sup>2</sup>Ea re impetrata, sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes projecerunt: 'Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent; propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent.' <sup>3</sup>Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Haeduus: 'Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Haeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernibus Sequanisque Germani mercede arcescerentur. <sup>4</sup>Horum primo circiter milia xv Rhenum transisse; posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures; nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et xx milium numerum.

<sup>5</sup> Cum his Haeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. <sup>6</sup> Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros, neque auxilium a populo Romano imploratu-  
ros, neque recusatu-  
ros quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. <sup>7</sup> Unum se esse ex omni civitate Haeduorum, qui adduci non potuerit ut juraret, aut liberos suos obsides daret. ~~X~~ Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse, et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. <sup>8</sup> Sed pejus victoribus Sequanis quam Haeduis victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset, tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum xxiii ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. <sup>9</sup> Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent; neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. <sup>10</sup> Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere, et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. ~~X~~ <sup>11</sup> Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustinere. Nisi si quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii,

omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant, fortunamque, quaecumque accadat, experiantur. <sup>12</sup> Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine populi Romani, deterere posse, ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.'

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita, omnes qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes, capite demisso, terram intueri. <sup>2</sup> Ejus rei quae causa esset miratus, ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret, neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Haeduus respondit: <sup>3</sup> 'Hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare audent; absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.'

¶ 33. His rebus cognitis, Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita, concilium dimisit. <sup>2</sup> Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret: imprimis, quod Haeduos, fratres consanguineosque

saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et reipublicae esse arbitrabatur. <sup>3</sup>Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, populo Romano periculosum videbat; neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent, atque inde in Italiam contenderent; <sup>4</sup>praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret: quibus rebus quam maturime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur. \*

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque conloquio deligeret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. <sup>2</sup>Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: 'Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere.' <sup>3</sup>Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno comitatu atque molimento in unum locum contrahere posse. <sup>4</sup>Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.'

35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: 'Quoniam tanto suo populique Romani beneficio adfectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in conloquium venire invitatus gravaretur, neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum

putaret, haec esse quae ab eo postularet: <sup>2</sup> primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Haeduis, redderet, Sequanisque permetteret, ut quos illi haberent, voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Haeduos injuria lacesseret, neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. <sup>3</sup> Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, — quoniam, M. Messala M. Pisone consulibus, senatus censuisset uti quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicae facere posset, Haeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, — se Haeduum injurias non neglecturum.'

36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: 'Jus esse belli, ut qui vicissent, iis quos vicissent, quem ad modum vellent, imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse. <sup>2</sup> Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet quem ad modum suo jure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo jure impediri.

<sup>3</sup> Haeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent, et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem injuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. <sup>4</sup> Haeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque iis neque eorum sociis injuria bellum inlaturum, si in eo manerent quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe iis fratrum nomen populi Romani afuturum. <sup>5</sup> Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Haeduum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congregaretur: intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.'

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata refere-

bantur, et legati ab Haeduis et a Treveris veniebant: Haedui questum, quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur: <sup>2</sup> sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Treveri autem, pagos centum Suevorum ad ripam Rheni consedissee, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres.

<sup>3</sup> Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus, maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque, re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere, triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. <sup>2</sup> Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas; idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen [alduas] Dubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit; <sup>3</sup> reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. <sup>4</sup> Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit, et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido, ibi praesidium conlocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant,

—saepenumero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, — tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. <sup>2</sup>Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui, ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti, non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa inlata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret; nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant.

<sup>3</sup>Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Volgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. <sup>4</sup>Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equitatu praerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris, magnitudinem silvarum quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. <sup>5</sup>Nonnulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, neque propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio, omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: primum quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. <sup>2</sup>Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum perspecta, eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam

repudiaturum <sup>8</sup> Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? <sup>4</sup> Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum, Cimbris et Teutonis a Gaio Mario pulsus, non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. <sup>5</sup> Ex quo judicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. <sup>6</sup> Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi, non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint; qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. <sup>7</sup> Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaerent, reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defetigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset, neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. <sup>8</sup> Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. <sup>9</sup> Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. <sup>10</sup> Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, jamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicatuos. <sup>11</sup> Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturo dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam: suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetio-



rum bello esse perspectam. <sup>12</sup> Itaque se quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset repraesentaturum, et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor valeret. <sup>13</sup> Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram.' Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue, et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita, mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. <sup>2</sup> Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesari satisfacerent: se neque umquam dubitasse, neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. <sup>3</sup> Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinguenta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. <sup>4</sup> Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum quattuor et viginti abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu, Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset, seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. <sup>2</sup> Non respuit condicionem Caesar, jamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultra polliceretur; magnamque in spem veniebat, pro suis tantis populiue Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret.

<sup>3</sup> Dies conloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultra citroque cum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad conloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu veniret; alia ratione sese non esse venturum. <sup>4</sup> Caesar, quod neque conloquium interposita causa tollī volebat, neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis, eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. <sup>5</sup> Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit, plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum; ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna, et in ea tumultus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad conloquium venerunt. <sup>2</sup> Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumultu constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constituerunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut conloquerentur, et praeter se denos ut ad conloquium adducerent, postulavit. <sup>3</sup> Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse, et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. <sup>4</sup> Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatus consulta, quotiens quamque honorifica, in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius

Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. <sup>5</sup>Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani adtulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset?' <sup>6</sup>Postulavit deinde eadem quae legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Haeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit; de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: 'Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint. <sup>2</sup>Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse, ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. <sup>3</sup>Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerit. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. <sup>4</sup>Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur, et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam quam adpetierit. <sup>5</sup>Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: ejus rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. <sup>6</sup>Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum.

Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? cur in suas possessiones veniret? <sup>7</sup> Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, ~~sicut~~ illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. <sup>8</sup> Quod fratres Haeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Haeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos, in his contentionibus quas Haedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. <sup>9</sup> Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat, atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed hoste habiturum. <sup>10</sup> Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. <sup>11</sup> Quod si discessisset, et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum, et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum. \*

45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset; et <sup>1</sup> Neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime merentes socios desereret, neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani. <sup>2</sup> Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset, neque in provinciam rede-gisset, neque stipendium imposuisset. <sup>3</sup> Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium; si judicium senatus observari oport-

teret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.'

46. Dum haec in conloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere, et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conicere. <sup>2</sup>Caesar loquendi finem facit, seque ad suos recipit, suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. <sup>3</sup>Nam ~~esi~~ sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, <sup>Germani</sup> tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsus hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in conloquio circumventos. <sup>4</sup>Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua adrogantia in conloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent, eaque res conloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

X 47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: 'Velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum conloquio diem constitueret, aut, si id minus vellet, e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret.' <sup>2</sup>Conloquendi Caesari causa visa non est; et eo magis, quod <sup>2</sup>pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum, et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. <sup>3</sup>Commodissimum visum est Gaium Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adulescentem, — cujus pater a Gaio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, — ad eum mittere, et M. Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. <sup>4</sup>His mandavit, ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognoscerent, et ad se referrent. Quos cum

apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: 'Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa?' Conantes dicere prohibuit, et in catenas coniecit. X

48. Eodem die castra promovit, et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit, et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Haeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet.

<sup>2</sup>Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit, et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. <sup>3</sup>Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant.

<sup>4</sup>Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. <sup>5</sup>Ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant; si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderat, circumstabant; si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut jubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent. X

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab iis, castris idoneum locum delegit, acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. <sup>2</sup>Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. <sup>3</sup>Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat,

duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die, instituto suo, Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit, paulumque a majoribus castris progressus, aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. <sup>2</sup> Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. <sup>3</sup> Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu, suas copias Ariovistus, multis et inlatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. <sup>4</sup> Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quamobrem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere: 'Non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.'

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidium utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit, omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse, triplici instructa acie, usque ad castra hostium accessit. <sup>2</sup> Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt, generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harudes, Marcomannos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos, omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. <sup>3</sup> Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus ~~singulos~~ legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit. <sup>2</sup> Ita nostri acriter in hostes, signo dato, impetum fecerunt, ita-que hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coniciendi non daretur. Rejectis pilis, cominus gladiis pugnatum est. <sup>3</sup> At Germani celeriter, ex consuetudine sua phalange facta, impetus gladiatorum exceperunt. Reperiti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent, et desuper vulnerarent. <sup>4</sup> Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. <sup>5</sup> Id cum animadvertisset P. Crassus adulescens, qui equitatu praeeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum, milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerunt. <sup>2</sup> Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt, aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem pepererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. ✕ Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione, quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voctionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae filiae harum altera occisa, altera capta est. <sup>4</sup> Gaius Valerius Proculus, cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem, hostes equitatu persequentem, incidit. <sup>5</sup> Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem adtulit, quod hominem hones-



tissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat; neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. <sup>6</sup>Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato, Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos [senserunt;] insecuti, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. <sup>2</sup>Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

## BOOK II.

THE BELGIAN CONFEDERACY.—A league of the Belgian tribes is reported to Cæsar, who moves rapidly to the north, and accepts the submission of the Remi (1-3). Account of the Belgians and their tribes. Cæsar advances to the Axona, relieves the siege of Bibrax, the chief place of the Remi, and establishes a camp, strongly fortified (4-8). The Belgians attempt to cross the Axona, but are driven back, and pursued with great slaughter (9-11). Surrender of the Suessiones and Bellovaci: report of the Nervii, who wait to give battle across the Sabis (12-16). Position of the two forces: the Nervii attack with great fury, and throw the Romans into confusion, which is partly overcome by their admirable discipline (17-20). After various fortune, the Nervii assault the camp, which is saved, after a desperate struggle, by the personal address and courage of Cæsar (21-22). Labienus comes up with the tenth legion, and the tide is turned; the Nervii are crushed and almost exterminated (26-28). The Aduatuci: after sundry skirmishes they sue for peace; but renewing the fight after their surrender, are subdued, and upwards of 50,000 are sold as slaves (29-33). Meanwhile Crassus secures the submission of the coast population of the Veneti, etc.; Gaul appears wholly reduced to peace, and embassies are sent to Cæsar even from beyond the Rhine (34, 35).

CUM esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia [in hibernis], ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat, omnes Belgas (quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus), contra populum Romanum conjurare, obsidesque inter se dare. <sup>2</sup>Conjurandi has esse causas: primum quod vererentur ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, — partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant; <sup>3</sup>partim qui, mobilitate et levitate animi, novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis

etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque iis qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus, Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et inita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Q. Petium legatum misit. <sup>2</sup> Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant, seque de his rebus certiores faciant. <sup>3</sup> Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. <sup>4</sup> Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria comparata, castra movet, diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

\* 3. Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andocumborium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent: <sup>2</sup> 'Se suaeque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse, neque contra populum Romanum conjurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare; <sup>3</sup> reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, detertere potuerint quin cum his consentirent.'

4. Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: <sup>2</sup> plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis,

Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedissee, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulsi, solosque esse qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri uti, earum rerum memoria, magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. <sup>3</sup>De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus adfinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit cognoverint. <sup>4</sup>Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos: latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. <sup>5</sup>Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam; ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri: <sup>6</sup>oppida<sup>2</sup> habere numero XII, polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur, longissimeque absint; quindecim milia Atrebates, Ambianos decem milia, Morinos XXV milia, Menapios VII milia; Caletos X milia; Velocasses et Veromanduos totidem; Aduatucos decem et novem milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.

X

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus, omnem senatum ad se convenire, principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. <sup>2</sup>Ipse Divitiacum Haeduum magnopere cohortatus, docet

quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. <sup>3</sup> Id fieri posse, si suas copias Haedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint, et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis, eum ab se dimittit. <sup>4</sup> Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab iis quos miserat exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit, atque ibi castra posuit. <sup>5</sup> Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat; et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus, ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset efficiebat. <sup>6</sup> In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit, et in altera parte fluminis Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus reliquit; castra in altitudinem pedum xii vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire jubet. ✕

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax aberat milia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. <sup>2</sup> Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. Ubi circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta, portas succedunt murumque subruunt. <sup>3</sup> Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. <sup>4</sup> Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex iis qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit: nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo de media nocte Caesar, isdem ducibus usus

qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. <sup>2</sup> Itaque, paulisper apud oppidum morati, agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis aedificiisque quos adire poterant incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt, et ab milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Caesar primo, et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis, proelio superseedere statuit; cotidie tamen, equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent periclitabatur. <sup>2</sup> Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, — quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planicie editus, tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, et in frontem leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planiciem redibat, <sup>3</sup> ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum et ad extremas fossas castella constituit, ibique tormenta conlocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes (quod tantum multitudine poterant) ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. <sup>4</sup> Hoc facto, duabus legionibus quas proxime conscripserat in castris relictis, ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos adgrederentur, parati in armis

erant. <sup>2</sup>Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio nostris, Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. <sup>3</sup>Ibi vadis repertis, partem suarum copiarum traducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Q. Titurius legatus, expugnarent, pontemque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. *Cæsar*, certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem traducit, atque ad eos contendit. <sup>2</sup>Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine adgressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos, audacissime transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. <sup>3</sup>Hostes ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt, neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato, constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent, et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. <sup>4</sup>Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Haeduos finibus Bellovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi ut diutius morarentur, neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

X 11. Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum

strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi, nullo certo ordine neque imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. <sup>2</sup> Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus, quod qua de causa discederent nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. <sup>3</sup> Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum qui novissimum agmen moraretur praemisit. His Q. Pedium et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit; T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. <sup>4</sup> Hi, novissimos adorti, et multa milia passuum prosecuti, magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt; cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent, fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur, neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore, perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. <sup>5</sup> Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium; sub occasumque solis destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit, et magno itinere [confecto] ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. <sup>2</sup> Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. <sup>3</sup> Castris munitis, vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. <sup>4</sup> Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audie-



rant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti, legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt, et petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur impetrant.

13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis, atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones accepit, exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. <sup>2</sup> Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu, ex oppido egressi, manus ad Caesarem tendere, et voce significare coeperunt sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire, neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. <sup>3</sup> Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset, castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus — nam post discessum Belgarum, dimissis Haeduum copiis, ad eum reverterat — facit verba : ‘ Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Haeduae fuisse : <sup>2</sup> impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent Haeduos, ab Caesare in servitutum redactos, omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Haeduis defecisse, et populo Romano bellum intulisse. <sup>3</sup> Qui ejus consilii principes fuissent, quod intellexerent quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. <sup>4</sup> Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Haeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. <sup>5</sup> Quod si fecerit, Haeduum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum, quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.’

15. Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Haeduum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit ; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate, atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. <sup>2</sup> His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido

conlatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dederunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos [eorum] et remitti virtutem existimarent: <sup>1</sup>esse homines feros magnaue virtutis; increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano deditissent patriamque virtutem projecissent; confirmare sese neque legatos missuros, neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos.

16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x abesse: <sup>2</sup>trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedissee, adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare, una cum Atrebatibus et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur); <sup>3</sup>exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere; mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cum ex dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt; <sup>2</sup>atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis, futurum ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. <sup>3</sup>Adjuvabat etiam eorum

consilium qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), <sup>4</sup>quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis, crebrisque in latitudinem ramis enatis, et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant ut instar muri hae sepes munimenta praeberent, quo non modo non intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. <sup>2</sup>Ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur adversus huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos infimus apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. <sup>3</sup>Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant; in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ~~ac~~ Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. <sup>2</sup>Nam quod ad hostis adpropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedimenta conlocarat; inde duae legiones, quae proxume conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant, praesidioque impedimentis erant. <sup>3</sup>Equites nostri, cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi, cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. ~~X~~ <sup>4</sup>Cum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent, ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius quam quem ad finem porrecta loca aperta pertinebant cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso, castra

munire coeperunt <sup>5</sup>Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab iis qui in silvis ~~abdit~~ latebant visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant; subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt, impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. <sup>6</sup>His facile pulsus ac proturbatis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra, atque eos qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum (quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrere oporteret), signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quorum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitatem et successus hostium impediabat. <sup>2</sup>His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, — scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant; et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. <sup>3</sup>Hi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, nihil jam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se quae videbantur administrabant.

21. Caesar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos milites quam in partem fors obtulit decucurrit, et ad legionem decumam devenit. <sup>2</sup>Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant quam quo telum adici posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. <sup>3</sup>Atque in

alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus, pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia adcommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. <sup>4</sup> Quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit, quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura dejectus-que collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis legionibus aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis (ut ante demonstravimus) interjectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia conlocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque, in tanta rerum iniquitate, fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur. ✓

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates — nam his ea pars obvenerat — celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt, et transire conantes insecuti, gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. <sup>2</sup> Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt, et in locum iniquum progressi, rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam conjecerunt. <sup>3</sup> Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. <sup>4</sup> At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, quom in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine, duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum

locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armorum pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, cum se in castra recipere, adversis hostibus occurrebant, ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant; <sup>2</sup> et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo iugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. <sup>3</sup> Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. <sup>4</sup> Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra compleri, legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, domum contenderunt; Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos, civitati renuntiaverunt.

25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri, signisque in unum locum conlatis, duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, — <sup>2</sup> quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut jam se sustinere non posset; <sup>3</sup> reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela yitare, hostis neque a fronte ex inferiore loco

subeuntes intermittere, et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium quod summitti posset, — <sup>4</sup> scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit; centurionibusque nominatim appellatis, reliquos cohortatus, milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. <sup>5</sup> Cujus adventu spe inlata militibus, ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar, cum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent, et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. <sup>2</sup> Quo facto, cum alius alii subsidium ferret, neque timerent ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. <sup>3</sup> Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato, cursu incitato, in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur; <sup>4</sup> et T. Labienus, castris hostium potitus, et ex loco superiore quae res in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus, decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. <sup>5</sup> Qui, cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis [pugnant, quo] se legionariis militibus praeferrent. <sup>2</sup> At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt,

ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; <sup>1</sup>his dejectis, et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent ut ex tumultu tela in nostros conicerent, et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat. ✕

28. Hoc proelio facto, et prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes coniectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium qui supererant consensu, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt, seque ei dediderunt; <sup>2</sup>et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. <sup>3</sup>Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit, suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nervii venirent, hac pugna nuntiata, ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. <sup>2</sup>Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter adclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant: tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro conlocabant. <sup>3</sup>Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque



Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, circa flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiam ex suis ac praesidium sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. <sup>4</sup> Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias inlatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac, primo adventu exercitus nostri, crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant, parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant; postea vallo pedum XII in circuitu XV milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido sese continebant. <sup>2</sup> Ubi vineis actis, aggere exstructo, turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum inridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur: <sup>3</sup> quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae — nam plerumque hominibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitudo nostra contemptui est — tanti oneris turrim in muro sese conlocare confiderent?

31. Ubi vero moveri et adpropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: <sup>2</sup> 'Non existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere possent; se suaeque omnia eorum potestati permittere' dixerunt. <sup>3</sup> 'Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. <sup>4</sup> Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. <sup>5</sup> Sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuissent.'

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: 'Se magis consuetudine sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidissent: sed deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi armis traditis. <sup>2</sup> Se id quod in Nervii fecisset facturum, finitumisque imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis populi Romani injuriam inferrent.' Re nuntiata ad suos, quae imperarentur facere dixerunt. <sup>3</sup> Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito (ut intellectum est) consilio, quod deditione facta nostros praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant, — <sup>2</sup> partim cum iis quae retinuerant et celaverant armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, — tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. <sup>3</sup> Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est, ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis, iniquo loco, contra eos qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent, pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. <sup>4</sup> Occisis ad hominum milibus quattuor, reliqui in oppidum reiecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris, sectionem ejus oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab iis qui emerant, capitum

numerus ad eum relatus est milium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas, Esuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritumae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis, omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab iis nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. <sup>2</sup> Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. <sup>3</sup> Ipse in Carnutes, Andes Turonesque, quae civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis, in Italiam profectus est. <sup>4</sup> Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

## BOOK III.

**ALPINE CAMPAIGN.**—A garrison, under the command of Servius Galba, had been set to guard the passes of the Upper Rhone, but is threatened by a formidable force, and brought into extreme danger (1-3). After sustaining an attack of some six hours, the garrison make a sudden sally, drive back the enemy, destroy the neighboring villages, and retire to the lower country, south of Lake Geneva, for the winter (4-6).

**NAVAL CAMPAIGN.**—The sea-faring tribes of Brittany form a strong league, under lead of the Veneti, and demand back their hostages from Crassus (7, 8). Cæsar prepares a fleet upon the Loire; the enemy fortify themselves on the coast. Labienus is sent to guard the north, and Crassus to the south; and Brutus is put in command of the Roman fleet (9-11). Situation of the Venetian strongholds; description of the fleets (12, 13). Engagement of the fleets: the enemies' sailyards are cut away, and their ships dispersed; they surrender, their leaders are slain, and the rest sold as slaves (14-16). Meanwhile Sabinus, who is sent among the Unelli, on the Channel, a little further north, is attacked by them, but drives them back with great slaughter, and compels their surrender (17-19).

**SOUTHERN GAUL.**—Crassus, in Aquitania, after some skirmishing, is threatened by a strong league, relying chiefly on the *soldurii*; but attacks them in their camp, and secures the conquest of the whole region (20-27). Cæsar, meanwhile, proceeds against the Morini, &c., along the coast of Flanders; and, as they retire to their marshes, falls back to winter quarters near the mouth of the Seine (28, 29).

**C**UM in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam, cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus, in Nantuatis, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. <sup>2</sup>Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consue-

patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa conlocaret. <sup>3</sup>Galba, secundis aliquot proeliis factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis, obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus conlocare, et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; <sup>4</sup>qui vicus, positus in valle, non magna adjecta planicie, altissimis montibus undique continetur. <sup>5</sup>Cum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuam ab his relictam cohortibus adtribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. <sup>2</sup>Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent: primum, quod legionem — neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus et compluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant — propter paucitatem despiciebant; <sup>3</sup>tum etiam quod propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. <sup>4</sup>Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari, et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis, Galba, cum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset

provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere coepit. <sup>2</sup> Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, <sup>3</sup> prope jam desperata salute, nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis, eruptione facta, isdem itineribus quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. <sup>4</sup> Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum consilio, interim rei eventum experiri, et castra defendere.

4. Brevis spatio interjecto, vix ut iis rebus quas constituissent conlocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conicere. <sup>2</sup> Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre; sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant: <sup>3</sup> quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

5. Cum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires sed etiam tela nostros deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent, languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, <sup>2</sup> P. Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam adcurrunt, atque unam

esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. <sup>3</sup> Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium, ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent; post, dato signo, ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

X—6. Quod jussi sunt faciunt, ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta, neque cognoscendi quid fieret, neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. <sup>2</sup> Ita commutata fortuna, eos qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant undique circumventos interficiunt; et ex hominum milibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam coniciunt, ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. <sup>3</sup> Sic omnibus hostium copiis fuis, armisque exutis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. <sup>4</sup> Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam temptare Galba nolebat, atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisset rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die, omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis, in provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante, incolumem legionem in Nantuatis, inde in Allobroges perduxit, ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret. superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coörtum est. <sup>2</sup> Ejus belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adulescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemaratus. <sup>3</sup> Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates

frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero erat T. Terasidius missus in Esuvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

8. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et in magno impetu maris atque aperto paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. <sup>2</sup> Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, reciperatuos existimabant. <sup>3</sup> Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti (ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia), eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent; et celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos, eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos; <sup>4</sup> reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate quam a majoribus acceperant permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre mallent. <sup>5</sup> Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provinciâ institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. <sup>2</sup> Veneti reliquaeque item civitates, cognito Caesaris adventu [certiores facti], simul quod quantum in se facinus admisissent intellegebant, legatos — quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset — retentos ab se et in vincla conjectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime



ea quae ad usum navium pertinent providere instituunt, hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. <sup>3</sup> Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant: <sup>4</sup> ac jam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse, Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum ubi bellum gesturi essent vada, portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. <sup>5</sup> His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintres, Menapios adsciunt; auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita est, arcessunt.

10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum conjuratio; imprimis ne, hac parte neglecta, reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. <sup>2</sup> Itaque cum intellegeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et conditionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio contineat; Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis

arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. <sup>2</sup>P. Crassum, cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim et magno numero equitatus, in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantae nationes conjungantur. <sup>3</sup>Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum destinendam curet. <sup>4</sup>Decimum Brutum adolescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, praeficit, et, cum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut, posita in extremis lingulis promunturiisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset (quod [bis] accidit semper horarum XII spatio), neque navibus, quod rursus minuenta aestu naves in vadis adflictarentur. <sup>3</sup>Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediabatur; ac si quando — magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis — suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium adpulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus isdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. <sup>8</sup>Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat — vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus — difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; <sup>2</sup>prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque adcommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore

ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; <sup>3</sup> anchorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, hae sive propter lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo (quod est magis verisimile) quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. <sup>4</sup> Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret; reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. <sup>5</sup> Neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant — tanta in iis erat firmitudo — neque propter altitudinem facile telum adiciebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis continebantur. <sup>6</sup> Accedebat ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et in vadis consisterent tutius, et ab aestu relictæ nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus.

X. 14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque iis noceri posse, statuit expectandam classem. <sup>2</sup> Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter ccxx naves eorum, paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae, profectae ex portu, nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant adtributae, constabat quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. <sup>3</sup> Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat; ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adici possent, et missa ab Gallis gravius accide-

rent. <sup>4</sup> Una erat magno usui res praeeparata a nostris, — falces praeacutae insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. <sup>5</sup> His cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpebantur. <sup>6</sup> Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario concidebant; ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis, omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. <sup>7</sup> Reliquum erat certainamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Cæsaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disiectis (ut diximus) antemnis, cum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. <sup>2</sup> Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt. <sup>3</sup> Ac jam, conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex loco commovere non possent. <sup>4</sup> Quae quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostri consecrati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritumae confectum est. Nam cum omnis juvenus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat unum in locum coëgerant; <sup>2</sup> quibus amissis, reliqui neque quo se reciperent, neque quem ad modum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se

suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. <sup>3</sup>In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

X 17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus, cum iis copiis quas a Caesare acceperat, in fines Unellorum pervenit. His praecerat Viridovix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coëgerat; <sup>2</sup>atque his paucis diebus Aulerci, Eburovices, Lexoviique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse volebant, portas clausurunt, seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt; magnaue praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et cotidiano labore revocabat. <sup>3</sup>Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset, cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret; ut jam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. <sup>4</sup>Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex iis quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit edocet. <sup>2</sup>Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit; quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet; neque longius

abesse quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat, et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. <sup>3</sup> Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. <sup>4</sup> Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt. <sup>5</sup> His rebus adducti, non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. <sup>6</sup> Qua re concessa, laeti ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo adclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervernerunt. <sup>2</sup> Sabinus, suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera, subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. <sup>3</sup> Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defetigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent, ac statim terga verterent. <sup>4</sup> Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consecuti paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. <sup>5</sup> Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus est; civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. <sup>6</sup> Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus cum in Aquita-

niam pervenisset, — quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, — cum intellegeret in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde L. Mallius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intellegebat. <sup>2</sup> Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa et Narbone (quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae his regionibus) nominatim evocatis, in Sontiatum fines exercitum introduxit. <sup>3</sup> Cujus adventu cognito, Sontiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti, primum equestre proelium commiserunt; deinde equitatu suo pulso, atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis conlocaverunt, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disiectos adorti, proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates, superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent; nostri autem quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent, perspicere cuperent: tandem confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere. <sup>2</sup> Quorum magno numero interfecto, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sontiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turresque egit. <sup>3</sup> Illi, alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis (cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae † secturaeque sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt, seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata, arma tradere jussi, faciunt.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis ani-

mis, alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi *soldurios* appellant, — <sup>2</sup>quorum haec est condicio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruantur quorum se amicitiae dediderint; si quid his per vim accadat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret, — <sup>3</sup>cum his Adiatunnus, eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, tamen uti eadem deditionis condicione uteretur ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoque versum dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. <sup>2</sup>Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitumae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur; quorum adventu, magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. <sup>3</sup>Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. <sup>4</sup>Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, — suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, — non cunctandum existimavit quin pugna decertaret. <sup>5</sup>Hæc re ad consilium delata, ubi



omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce, productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid hostes consilii caperent exspectabat. <sup>2</sup> Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri; et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato, ab ducibus productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. <sup>3</sup> Hac re perspecta, Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, exspectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos, omnibus cupientibus, ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis coniectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque (quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat) lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent; <sup>2</sup> cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita, facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus, equitum praefectos cohortatus ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit ostendit. <sup>2</sup> Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iis cohortibus quae praesidio castris relictæ intritæ ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis menti-

busque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas quas diximus munitiones pervenerunt, atque his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri, aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset.

<sup>3</sup>Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. <sup>4</sup>Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones deicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt.

<sup>5</sup>Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consecratus, ex milium quinquaginta numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recipit.

27. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedit, obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates: paucae ultimae nationes, anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen quod, omni Gallia pacata, Morini Menapiique supererant qui in armis essent, neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. <sup>2</sup>Nam quod intellegebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaeque omnia contulerunt. <sup>3</sup>Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Caesar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolarunt, et in nostros impetum fecerunt. <sup>4</sup>Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt, et compluribus interfectis, longius impeditioribus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem conlocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus extruebat. <sup>2</sup> Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. <sup>3</sup> Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis conlocavit.

## BOOK IV.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GERMANS. — The Suevi (*Swabians*), the most powerful tribe of Germans : their customs and warlike habit. They expel the Usipetes and Tencteri, who in their turn invade Northern Gaul (1-4). Advancing to strengthen the Gauls, who are about to yield, Cæsar demands that the Germans withdraw : after some parley, they furiously attack the Roman cavalry (5-12). Detaining their envoys, Cæsar attacks their camp, defeats and drives them to the Rhine (13-15). He then resolves to cross the Rhine : description of the Bridge (16, 17). After a short campaign in Germany, he returns to Gaul (18, 19).

FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN. — Motives for the expedition : the reconnoissance and preparations (20-22). Arrival in Britain : resistance of the Britons ; valor of a Roman centurion. Cæsar lands, and after a sharp battle drives back the natives, who sue for peace (23-27). Meanwhile the Roman cavalry are forced back by a storm, and the fleet is seriously injured ; on which the Britons renew hostilities (28-32). They attack a foraging party : their mode of fighting from war-chariots. Gathering a large force, they attack the Roman camp : defeating them, Cæsar makes peace and returns to Gaul to avoid the stormy season (33-36). Suppressing some disturbances, he quarters his forces among the Belgians for the winter (37, 38).

**E**A quae secuta est hieme, qui fuit annus Gnaeo Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani et item Tencteri magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari quo Rhenus influit. <sup>2</sup> Causa transeundi fuit quod, ab Suevis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. <sup>3</sup> Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserunt, se atque illos alunt. <sup>4</sup> Hi rursus in vicem anno post in

committendum existimavit. <sup>2</sup>Est enim hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit quaerant; et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat, quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint pronuntiare cogant. <sup>3</sup>His rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio pænitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita, Caesar, ne graviore bello occurreret, maturius quam consuevit ad exercitum proficiscitur. <sup>2</sup>Eo cum venisset, ea quae fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit: missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos, invitatosque eos uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque quae postulassent ab se fore parata. <sup>3</sup>Qua spe adducti, Germani latius vagabantur, et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Treverorum clientes, pervenerant. <sup>4</sup>Principibus Galliae evocatis, Caesar ea quae cognoverat dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis per-mulsis et confirmatis, equitatuque imperato, bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

7. Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis, iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germanos audiebat. <sup>2</sup>A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab iis venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: 'Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre, neque tamen recusare, si lacescantur, quin armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a maioribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere neque deprecari. <sup>3</sup>Haec tamen dicere, venisse invitos, ejectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros adtribuant, vel patiantur eos tenere quos armis possederint: sese unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne dii

quidem immortales pares esse possint; reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint.'

8. Ad haec quae visum est Caesar respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: 'Sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent; neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare; <sup>2</sup> neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine injuria possint; sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considerare, quorum sint legati apud se et de Suevorum injuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.'

9. Legati haec se ad suos <sup>third day with one</sup> relatu-  
ros dixerunt, et re  
deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros:  
interea ne propius se castra moveret petierunt. Ne id  
quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit. <sup>2</sup> Cogno-  
verat enim magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot  
diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Am-  
bivaritos trans Mosam missam: hos exspectari equites,  
atque ejus rei causa moram interponi arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in fini-  
bus Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta,  
quae appellatur Vacalus † insulamque efficit Batavorum,  
in Oceanum influit, neque longius ab Oceano milibus  
passuum LXXX in Rhenum influit. <sup>2</sup> Rhenus autem  
oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio  
per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum,  
Mediomatricum, Tribocorum, Treverorum citatus fer-  
tur; et, ubi Oceano adpropinquavit, in plures defluit  
partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum  
pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur,  
ex quibus sunt qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere  
existimantur, multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.

11. Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII  
milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati  
revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi magnopere ne

longius progrediretur orabant. <sup>2</sup> Cum id non impe-  
trassent, petebant uti ad eos equites qui agmen ante-  
cessissent praemitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet,  
sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mit-  
tendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando  
fidem fecisset, ea condicione quae a Caesare ferretur  
se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi  
tridui spatium daret. <sup>3</sup> Haec omnia Caesar eodem  
illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut tridui mora interposita  
equites eorum, qui abessent, reverterentur: tamen  
sese non longius milibus passuum quattuor aquationis  
causa processurum eo die dixit; huc postero die quam  
frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis  
cognosceret. <sup>4</sup> Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni  
equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nuntiarent ne hostes  
proelio lacesserent; et, si ipsi lacesserentur, sustine-  
rent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexe-  
runt, quorum erat quinque milium numerus, cum ipsi  
non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii qui  
frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam nondum redie-  
rant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo  
ante a Caesare discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat  
ab his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros pertur-  
baverunt; <sup>2</sup> rursus resistentibus, consuetudine sua ad  
pedes desiluerunt, subfossis equis compluribusque nos-  
tris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt, atque ita  
perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent quam  
in conspectum agminis nostri venissent. <sup>3</sup> In eo proe-  
lio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur quattuor et  
septuaginta; in his vir fortissimus, Piso Aquitanus,  
amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua  
regnum obtinuerat, amicus ab senatu nostro appel-  
latus. <sup>4</sup> Hic cum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium  
ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato  
dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit: cum circum-

ventus, multis vulneribus acceptis, cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam proelio excesserat, procul animadvertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est.

13. Hoc facto proelio, Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab iis, qui per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent: <sup>2</sup>exspectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat; et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent consecuti sentiebat; quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. <sup>3</sup>His constitutis rebus et consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato, ne quem diem pugnae praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane, eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani frequentes, omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt: <sup>4</sup>simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod (contra atque esset dictum, et ipsi petissent) proelium pridie commisissent; simul ut, si quid possent, de indutiis fallendo impetrarent. <sup>5</sup>Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus, illos retineri jussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit, equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta, et celeriter viii milium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit quam quid ageretur Germani sentire possent. <sup>2</sup>Qui omnibus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur; copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere praestaret. <sup>3</sup>Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri, pristini diei perfidia incitati, in castra inruperunt. <sup>4</sup>Quo loco qui



celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimentaue proelium commiserunt: at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque — nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant — passim fugere coepit; ad quos consecrandos Caesar equitatum misit.

15. Germani, post tergum clamore audito, cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis signisque militaribus relictis, se ex castris eiecerunt, et cum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt; atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. <sup>2</sup> Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpaucis vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum cccxxx milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. <sup>3</sup> Caesar iis, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatumque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto, multis de causis Caesar statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum: quarum illa fuit justissima, quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. <sup>2</sup> Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tencterorum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse, neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sugambrorum receperat, seque cum iis conjunxerat. <sup>3</sup> Ad quos cum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent, eos qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent sibi dederent, responderunt: 'Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui

quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet?' <sup>4</sup> Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel, si id facere occupationibus reipublicae prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi *ad* auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. <sup>5</sup> Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

17. Caesar, his de causis quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. <sup>2</sup> Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non traducendum exercitum existimabat. <sup>3</sup> Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. <sup>4</sup> Haec cum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat, fistucisque adegerat, — non sublicae modo directe ad perpendicularum, sed prone ac fastigate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent, — his item contraria duo ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum, ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. <sup>5</sup> Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis, atque in contrariam partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquae se incitavisset,

hoc artius inligata tenerentur. <sup>6</sup> Haec directa materia injecta contexebantur, ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur; ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subjectae et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent; <sup>7</sup> et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat comportari, omni opere effecto, exercitus traducitur. Caesar, ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto, in fines Sugambrorum contendit. <sup>2</sup> Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. <sup>3</sup> Sugambri, ex eo tempore quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata, hortantibus iis quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant, suaque omnia exportaverant, seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdidérant.

19. Caesar, paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum recepit; atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: <sup>2</sup> 'Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri compèrissent, more suo concilio habito, nuntios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores, suaque omnia in silvis deponerent, atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum convenirent; hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum, quas Suevi obtinerent; hic Romanorum adventum exspectare, atque ibi decertare constituisse.' <sup>3</sup> Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus iis confectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum

iniceret, ut Sugambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus, se in Galliam recepit, pontemque rescidit.

20. Exigua parte aetatis reliqua, Caesar, etsi in his locis (quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit) maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit: <sup>2</sup> quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde sumministrata auxilia intellegebat; et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. <sup>3</sup> Neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra Gallias, notum est. <sup>4</sup> Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, Gaium Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, ut exploratis omnibus rebus ad se quam primum revertatur. <sup>2</sup> Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus, et quam superiore aestate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat classem, jubet convenire. <sup>3</sup> Interim, consilio ejus cognito, et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare, atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. <sup>4</sup> Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatus-

que ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit; et cum iis una Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in his regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. <sup>5</sup> Huic imperat, quas possit adeat civitates; horteturque ut populi Romani fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. <sup>6</sup> Volens, perspectis regionibus omnibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur, quaeque ibi perspexisset renuntiat.

22. Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. <sup>2</sup> Hoc sibi Caesar satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat, neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas judicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem recepit. <sup>3</sup> Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis ~~coactis~~ contractisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. <sup>4</sup> Huc accedebant XVIII onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco ab milibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distribuit. Reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino et L. Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios, atque in eos pagos Morinorum ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, ducendum dedit; P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum, cum eo praesidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

*Part 3.*

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere et se sequi jussit. <sup>2</sup>A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. <sup>3</sup>Cujus loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset. <sup>4</sup>Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in ancoris exspectavit. <sup>5</sup>Interim, legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset et quae fieri vellet ostendit, monuitque ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritumae res postularent (ut quae celerem atque instabilem motum haberent), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. <sup>6</sup>His dimissis, et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatiis ancoris, circiter milia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. <sup>2</sup>Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant; militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum; cum illi aut ex arido, aut paulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis, audacter tela conicerent, et equos insuefactos incitarent. <sup>3</sup>Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti, non eadem alacritate

ac studio quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant nitebantur.

25. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitator, et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus, et remis incitari, et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoverti iussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. <sup>2</sup> Nam, et navium figura et remorum motu ~~et inusitato~~ <sup>hactea</sup> genere tormentorum permoti, barbari ~~constiterunt~~, ac paulum modo pedem retulerunt. <sup>3</sup> Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: <sup>4</sup> *Desilite*, inquit, *milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero*. Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. <sup>5</sup> Tum nostri, cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis [primis] navibus cum conspexissent, subsequuti hostibus adpropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscumque signis occurrerat, se adgregabat, magnopere perturbabantur; <sup>2</sup> hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur, plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto in universos tela coniciebant. <sup>3</sup> Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri iussit, et quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat. <sup>4</sup> Nostri simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes impetum fecerunt, atque

eos in fugam dederunt; neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.

27. Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturus quaeque imperasset facturos esse polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemisum. <sup>2</sup> Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniecerant: tum, proelio facto, remiserunt; et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur petiverunt. <sup>3</sup> Caesar questus, quod, cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudētiaē dixit, obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturus dixerunt. <sup>4</sup> Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt, principesque undique convenire, et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. <sup>2</sup> Quae cum adpropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coërta est, et nulla earum cursum tenere posset; sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo deicerentur; quae tamen, ancoris jactis, cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum pro vectae continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, qui



dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus compleverat; et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas adflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur.

<sup>2</sup> Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquae cum essent — funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis — ad navigandum inutiles, magna (id quod necesse erat accidere) totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. <sup>3</sup> Neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent; et omnia deërant quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui; et, quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui post proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se conlocuti, cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intellegerent, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, — quae hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, — optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellionem facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere, et rem in hiemem producere; quod his superatis, aut reditu interclusis, neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus conjuratione facta, paulatim ex castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt.

31. At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum, et ex eo quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id quod accidit suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat. <sup>2</sup> Nam et frumentum ex agris cotidie in castra conferebat, et quae gravissime adflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur; et quae ad eas res erant usui ex con-

tinenti comportari jubebat. <sup>3</sup>Itaque cum summo studio a militibus administraretur, duodecim navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, — cum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, — ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem majorem quam consuetudo ferret in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. <sup>2</sup>Caesar, id quod erat suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes quae in stationibus erant secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi jussit. <sup>3</sup>Cum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque aegre sustinere, et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conici animadvertit. <sup>4</sup>Nam quod, omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvas delituerant; tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos, subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela coniciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant; et cum se inter equitum turmas insinnaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus proeliantur. <sup>2</sup>Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt, atque ita currus conlocant, uti si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. <sup>3</sup>Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant; ac tantum usu cotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et

per temonem percurrere, et in iugo insistere, et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae, tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. <sup>2</sup> Quo facto, ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratum, suo se loco continuit, et brevi tempore intermisso in castra legiones reduxit. <sup>3</sup> Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. <sup>4</sup> Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes dimiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt, et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus, celeriter magna multitudo peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

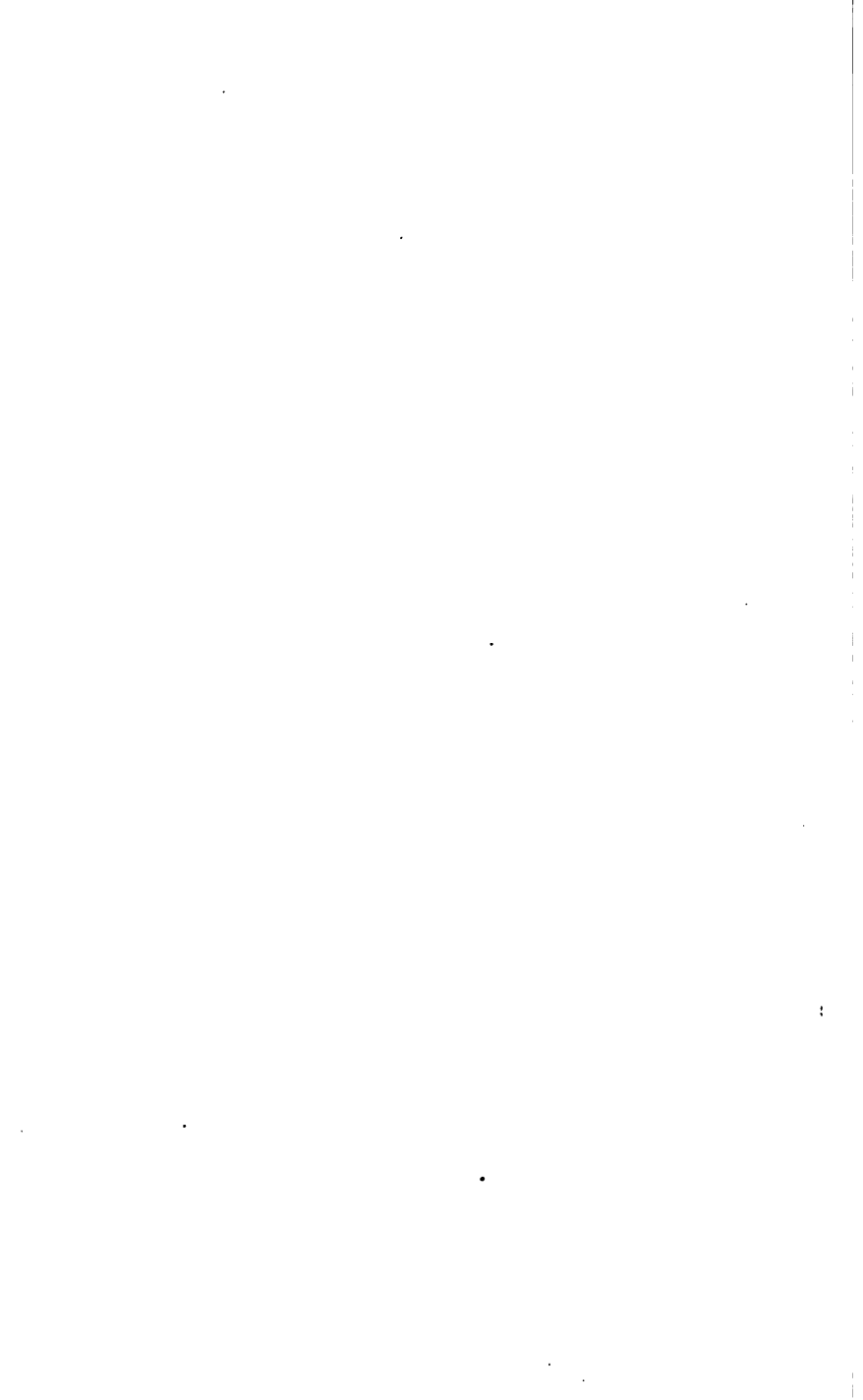
35. Caesar, etsi idem quod superioribus diebus acciderat fore videbat, — ut, si essent hostes pulsī, celeritate periculum effugerent, — tamen nactus equites circiter triginta, quos Commius Atrebas (de quo ante dictum est) secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. <sup>2</sup> Commisso proelio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt. <sup>3</sup> Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt; deinde, omnibus longe lateque aedificiis incensis, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit; quod, propinqua die aequinoctii, infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subiciendam non existimabat. <sup>2</sup> Ipse, idoneam tempestatem nactus,

paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit; quae omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt: sed ex iis onerariae duae eosdem quos reliqui portus capere non potuerunt, et paulo infra delatae sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. <sup>2</sup> Cum illi, orbe facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia sex convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata, Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. <sup>3</sup> Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt, atque amplius horis quattuor fortissime pugnauerunt, et paucis vulneribus acceptis complures ex his occiderunt. <sup>4</sup> Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Caesar postero die T. Labienum legatum, cum iis legionibus quas ex Britannia reducerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum, propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent non haberent (quo superiore anno perfugio fuerant usi), omnes fere in potestatem Labieni pervenerunt. <sup>2</sup> At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. <sup>3</sup> Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Et duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis, ex litteris Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.



## NOTES.

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AS CÆSAR, though in many respects a book for advanced students, is often the first Latin classic put into the learner's hands, it may be well to give a few hints as to the method of study.

1. Before beginning to read, the learner should be familiar with the forms of Inflection, the simpler rules of Agreement and Construction of Cases (Gr. § 75, especially Rules 1-10, 14, 21, 26), and the Definitions contained in § 45.

2. In every sentence, begin by finding *the leading verb with its subject*, and its *direct object* if it has one; and so make the main thought clear before trying to bring in the subordinate parts.

3. Always look first at the *inflectional terminations*, so that the number, case, tense, person, &c., will instantly occur upon seeing a Latin word. The great fault of most learners is carelessness about inflections. It is much better to guess at the meaning of the word and know its form, than to neglect the form and be careful of the meaning.

4. In the use of Notes, it is generally best not to consult them till you have fairly tried without their aid; but, even if the sentence seems quite clear, never neglect to consult them afterwards. Sometimes they will give you information; generally they will put the matter in a new or clearer light.

5. Until you are quite familiar with the Syntax, *consult all the references to the Grammar*.\* These at first are more numerous and elementary; but further on — especially in "Indirect Discourse" — they should be carefully studied, with the examples, and the more difficult points explained by the teacher.

6. Many references at first are to the short Rules for Parsing (Grammar, pp. 210, 211): it may be well to have most of these Rules quite familiar before going into the details of Syntax.

7. Lastly, remember that Cæsar was a man of action and great intelligence; that he always had a plain story to tell, and knew just what he meant to say. He is often awkward; he may be crafty, unscrupulous, insincere; but he is never obscure. And one should never be satisfied until he sees, or thinks he sees, exactly what his meaning is.

\* The references are to Allen and Greenough's and Gildersleeve's Latin Grammars.

## BOOK FIRST.

**HELVETIAN WAR.**—Early in the year 58 B.C., the whole population of Helvetia (northern Switzerland), amounting to about 360,000, attempted to pass by an armed emigration through the heart of Gaul, in order to settle somewhere near the shore of the Bay of Biscay, possibly with the hope of being masters of the whole country. They were hemmed in by the great natural barriers of the Alps, the Lake of Geneva, and the Jura mountains on the south and west; and pressed on the north by great hordes of Germans, who kept up a continual border war. Their fields were scant, their harvests insufficient, their people hardy and fearless. Their ambitious chief, Orgetorix, had prepared them so well for this enterprise, that his flight and death—when he was charged with guilty conspiracy, and put on trial for his life—caused no delay. The attempt was held in check by Cæsar, during a fortnight's parley, till sufficient earthworks had been thrown up along the Rhone to withstand their advance; the advance was then made in force along the narrow pass between that river and the Jura. But the Helvetians did not succeed in getting more than fifty miles beyond the frontier, when they were overtaken by Cæsar; who by a few light skirmishes and two bloody battles forced them back to their own territories, with the loss of more than 200,000 lives. This brief campaign, lasting only from March to June, is called the Helvetian war.

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**2.** *Gallia*, that is, independent Gaul, excluding the Roman province (*Provincia*) in the south-east, as well as *Gallia Cisalpina*, now northern Italy. It occupied the territory of France, including to the Rhine boundary, with most of the Netherlands and Switzerland (see Map).

*omnis* (predicate), *as a whole*.—*est divisa*, *is divided*; the adjective use of the participle, not the perfect passive (§ 72, 2, b; G. 439, R).

*Belgæ*, probably of the *Cymric* branch, allied to the Britons and the modern Welsh: they inhabited the modern *Belgium*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, and were considerably mixed with Germans (see ii. 1).—*Aquitani*, of the Spanish Iberians (the modern *Basques*), inhabiting the districts of *Gascony* and *Guienne* (see iii. 20).—*Celtæ*, probably of the *Gaelic* branch, represented by the Irish and the Highland Scotch.

*aliā*: *alteram* would be more usual, as meaning the second in the list.—*tertiam* qui . . . *appellantur*, *the third* [those inhabit] *who are called*, &c. It would read in full, *tertiam* [partem ii incolunt] *qui*, etc.—*ipsorum linguā*, *in their own tongue*.—*nostrā*, sc.\* *linguā*.

\* Understand,

**Galli**: the word **GAL** is said to mean *battle*; hence **GALA**, warrior.

**linguā** (abl. of specification, § 54, 9, R. 26; G. 397) . . . *differunt*, differ in language, customs, and laws. The language of the Aquitani was Basque; of the Gauls proper, Celtic; of the Belgians, probably, Celtic mixed with German. (Observe that when three words, as **lingua**, etc., are used together, by Latin use there should either be no conjunction at all, as here, or one should be used with all except the first.)

**inter se** = *from one another*: the preposition **inter** may be used to show any reciprocal relation, see § 19, 3, d. 99.6

**dividit**: the verb is singular, because the two rivers make one boundary (§ 49, 1, b; G. 202, R<sup>1</sup>); as we should say, *is divided by the line of the Seine and Marne*. 205.6

2. **horum**, part. gen. with **fortissimi**, § 50, 2 (R. 10); G. 366. — **propterea quod**, *because*; lit. *because of this, that, &c.* These adverbial phrases, which are numerous in Latin, should always be carefully analyzed, though generally rendered by a single word in English. (Beginners constantly confound **propterea**, *for that reason*, with **præterea**, *besides*.)

**cultu**, *civilization*, as shown by outward signs; **humanitate**, *refinement*, of mind or feeling.

**provinciæ**: the province of *Gallia Narbonensis*, organized about B. C. 120. Its chief cities were Massilia (*Marseilles*), an old Greek free city, and the capital, Narbo (*Narbonne*), a Roman colony. The name *Provincia* has come down in the modern *Provence*.

**minime sæpe commeant**, *least often penetrate*. The verb **commeo** means, especially, *to go back and forth* in the way of traffic. The main line of trade lay across the country, by the river Loire. — **mercatores**: these were traders or pedlars, mostly from the seaport of Massilia; they travelled with pack-horses, mules, and waggons. A very common article of traffic (as with our Indian traders) was intoxicating drinks, — wines from the southern coast; which, especially, as Cæsar says, “tend to debauch the character.” These people, it is said, would give the traders a boy for a jar of wine.

**ea**, object of important. — **effeminandos**, § 73, 2 (R. 41); G. 428. — **Germanis**, dat. § 51, 6 (R. 15); G. 356 (compare *d*; R<sup>1</sup>). The name is said to mean *men of war*. 29.6

**trans Rhenum**: the Rhine was, in general, the boundary between Gauls and Germans; though, as we shall see, a few German tribes had settled on the hither side.

**continenter** (adverb from the participle of **contineo**, *hold together*), *incessantly*; strictly, *without any interruption*.



3. *qua de causa, and for this reason*, (§ 45, 6<sup>a</sup>; G. 612): in apposition with *quod . . . contendunt*.

*Helvetii*, here, it will be noticed, reckoned as Gauls.—*præcedunt, excel*; lit. *walk before*.

*proeliis*, abl. of means; *finibus*, abl. of separation.—*cum prohibent, while they keep them off* (*pro-habeo*). Observe that this conjunction is not properly spelled *quum*, on account of the old rule forbidding *u* to follow *u* or *v* in the same syllable (§ 1, 2, *b*); but *cum* or *quom*.—*ipsi* (emphatic), *themselves*.

4. *eorum una pars, one division of them* (the Gauls), the people being put for the country.—*quam . . . dictum est, which* (*it has been* [already] *said*) *the Gauls hold*. [Notice that in direct discourse it would be *Galli obtinent*: the subject-nom. is changed to acc., and the indic. to the infin. after the verb of *saying*, *dictum est*, § 57, 8, *e* (R. 39); G. 527.] Here *quam* is the object and *Gallus* the subject of *obtinere*; while the clause is the subject of *dictum est* (§ 70, 2, *a*<sup>2</sup>; G. 528).—*obtinere* (*ob-teneo*), not *obtain*, but *occupy*: strictly, *hold against* all claimants; what is called in law *adverse possession*. *Ob* in composition almost always has the sense of *opposing* or *coming in the way of* any thing.

*ab Sequanis, on the side of, &c.*—*vergit, etc., slopes to the north*; that is, the highlands (*Cevennes*) are along the southern boundary, and the rivers flow in their main course northerly.

*septentriones* (*septem triones*, "the seven plough-oxen"), i. e. the constellations of the great and little Bear. The word is used both in the singular (as a compound) and in the plural.

3. *ad Hispaniam, next to Spain*, i. e. the Bay of Biscay.

2. *nobilissimus* (root *GNO*, *know*), *of highest birth*. Popular revolutions had, among the Gauls as among the Greeks and Romans, mostly dispossessed the old chiefs, or kings; and they had established an annual magistrate called *Vergobret* (ch. 20). But the heads of the ruling families would naturally be ambitious to recover what they could of the old class power; and Orgetorix is represented as aspiring to create a monarchy in Gaul.

*Orgetorix*: this name, by a probable derivation, means the *slaver*.

*Messala, etc.* (§ 84, 1): this was B.C. 61, three years before Cæsar's first campaign in Gaul. The construction of *consulibus* is abl. absolute, § 54, 10, *b* (R. 35); G. 408; not so formal as *while Messala and Piso were consuls*, but merely *in their consulship*. This was the usual way of denoting the year.

*conjuracionem, a league*, sworn to fidelity by oath (*juro*).—*nobilitatis*: from the account given in ch. 4, we see how immense was the class power still held by the nobles.

*civitati persuasit*, § 51, 2, *a* (R. 16); G. 345: the direct object of *persuasit* is the clause *ut . . . exirent* (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 546, R 1); compare *id*, two lines below. All citizens, probably, had a right to vote; but their votes were easily "persuaded" by such means as Orgetorix possessed. (For the sequence of tenses in *exirent*, see § 58, 10, R.; G. 510).

*perfacile* (predicate with *esse*, while its subject is the infinitive clause with *potiri*): *that it was quite easy, since they exceeded all men in valor, to win the empire of all Gaul.* — *esse*, indirect disc., depending on some such word as *he said* (§ 70, 2, *c*; G. 652, R<sup>3</sup>).

*cum præstarent*, subjunctive after *cum*, meaning *since*, § 62, 2, *e*; G. 587, 4. — *imperio*, § 54, 6, *d* (R. 31); G. 405. The word properly means, *authority held by force of arms*.

2. *hoc facilius*, *all the easier*: § 54, 6, *e* (R. 33); G. 400. — *id*, obj. of *persuasit* (§ 51, 2, *c*; G. 344): we should say, *persuaded them of it.* — *quod* (adverbial accus.), correlative of *hoc*: *the more easily, because, &c.* — *loci naturā*, *by the nature of the country.* — *continentur*, *are held in.*

*una ex parte*, *on one side*: as in *undique*, *on* (lit. *from*) *all sides*, *hinc*, *on this side*, &c. The effect on the senses is supposed to come *from* the direction referred to.

3. *his rebus*, *by these means.* — *fiebat* (imperf) = *it was coming about more and more* (§ 58, 3; G. 222): the subject is the clause *ut . . . possent* (see § 70, R).

*qua ex parte*, *on which ground*: — some editions have *qua de causa.* — *homines* (a sort of apposition) = *being* (as they were) *men eager for war.* — *bellandi*, § 50, 3, *b* (R. 12); G. 374.

*adficiebantur* = *afficiebantur*: for the rule as to assimilation of consonants, compare § 1, 3, *g*. In this edition the *unchanged* form of the preposition is usually preferred.

4. *pro*, *in proportion to.* — *multitudine*: their numbers, including some small dependent populations, were 368,000 (see ch. 29). — *angustos fines* = *too narrow limits*: those here given are about 40 miles each way larger than the present boundaries of Switzerland.

*milia passuum*, *miles* (1000 paces), the regular way of stating this measure, *milia* being acc. of *extent of space* (R. 23), and *passuum* partit. genitive. The *passus* was the *stretch* from heel to heel, i. e. from where the heel is raised to where it is set down again; and is reckoned at five Roman feet. A Roman mile (*mille passuum*) was about 400 feet less than ours; it measures the distance which a soldier would march in "a thousand paces."

*patebant*: throughout the latter part of this chapter notice the use of the imperfect of *description* or *general statement*, compared with the perfect of *simple narrative* in *persuasit*, above, and *constituerunt*, &c., below.

3. **permoti**: this word seems to show something more than mere "persuasion" on the part of Orgetorix, cf. ch. 2<sup>1</sup>. — **quæ pertinerent**, dependent clause in indir. disc., § 66, 1, *d*; G. 653.

Observe that Latin employs different moods for the two forms of quotation, one for what is called Direct and the other for Indirect Discourse. Whenever the writer or speaker takes the responsibility of the statement, it is put in the Indicative, with commands in the Imperative. These are the moods of DIRECT DISCOURSE. When any thing is told not simply as a fact, but that *some one thought or said so*, the leading statement is put in the Infinitive, and all subordinate parts (including commands) in the Subjunctive. These are the moods of INDIRECT DISCOURSE. The narrative in this chapter will require a careful attention to the above distinction. Let the learner here study attentively the introductory paragraph and Remark of § 67 (G. 651). In Cæsar, all the speeches are given in the form of narrative; that is, in Indirect Discourse.

**comparare . . . confirmare**: these infinitives are construed as the *direct object* of the leading verb **constituerunt**, § 57, 8, *c* (R. 38); G. 424.

**quæ pertinerent**, subjunctive because depending on the infinitive **comparare**: § 66, 2 (R. 47); G. 666.

**quam maximum**, *as great as possible* (§ 17, 5, *b*; G. 317. — **jumentorum**, *beasts of burden*, properly, *yoke-animals* (root YU, kindred with YUG in **jungo**, **jugum**); **carrorum**, *two-wheeled carts*, suited to the narrow and rough roads.

2. **conficiendas** (FAC), *completing*: **con** in composition generally means *together*; or, as here, may be simply intensive. — **lege**: probably passed in a public assembly, which is what a Roman would understand by **lex**. — **in tertium annum confirmant**, *fix for the third year*.

3. **sibi suscepit**, *took on himself*. Observe the force of **sub**, as if he put his shoulders *under* the load. — **civitates**, *clans*, such as the Ædui, Sequani, &c., — more than 80 in all, — whose territory had no local name, but was known only by that of the clan, which was sovereign and wholly independent, except for voluntary alliances (see ch. 30). The name **Gallia** itself — as was said of Italy a few years ago — was only "a geographical expression," implying no political sovereignty.

**persuadet**, *prevails on*: **suadet** would be, simply, *urges*. — **obtinerat**, *had held*. — **amicus**, an honorary title given by the Roman Senate to friendly powers. — **ut . . . occuparet**, *to lay hands on*. This clause is the object of **persuadet** (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 576, R<sup>1</sup>; for the sequence of tenses, see § 58, 10, *b*; G. 510, R), which in English would be expressed by the infinitive. — **ante**, here an adverb; in English we should say *before him*.

**Dumnorigi** (dat. after *persuadet*, p. 4), Dumnorix, a younger brother, restless, ambitious, and strongly attached to the old aristocracy of the clan: therefore a bitter enemy of the Roman supremacy. He afterwards headed a desertion of Cæsar's cavalry, just before the second invasion of Britain, but was pursued and killed (v. 6).

**4. Divitiāci**: this Æduan chief was of the order of Druids; he had been in Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Cicero and other eminent Romans. He was thoroughly impressed with the power and superiority of the Romans, and was a faithful friend and ally of Cæsar.

The name is by some thought to be a Druid title. The party of Druids, represented by Divitiacus and Liscus (chap. 16), was the *popular* party, strong especially in the large towns: it was opposed by the old clan feeling kept up by military or tribal chiefs (*principes*), such as Orgetorix and Dumnorix. The former, or popular party was headed by the Ædui, the latter, or aristocratic, by the Sequani and Arverni. The Druids were a religious or priestly order, jealous of the aristocracy (*equites*) of the tribe or clan, which represented what may be called the patriotic or "native-Celtic" party (see vi. 12-17). A knowledge of this division helps clear up many of the events of Cæsar's campaigns. Divitiacus was a name well known at Rome. A later writer gives an interesting picture of the Gallic chief standing and leaning on his shield while he made his appeal before the senate, declining (as a suppliant) the seat which was in courtesy offered him.

**qui**, i. e. Dumnorix. — **principatum**, *highest rank*, as distinct from political power. — **plebi acceptus**, *a favorite with the people*. — **ut idem conaretur**, *to make the same attempt* (lit. *attempt the same thing*): i. e. put down the constitutional authority, and establish a rule of military chiefs.

**4. perfacile factu** (§ 74, 2, R; G. 437, R<sup>1</sup>), *very easy to do*: in predicate agreement with **conata perficere**, which is subj. of **esse**. — **illis probat**, *undertakes to show them*, i. e. to Casticus and Dumnorix (conative present, § 58, 2, b; G. 218, R<sup>2</sup>).

**non esse dubium quin**, *there is no doubt* (he says) *that*: here **esse** is infin. of indirect disc.; for the construction of **quin**, see § 65, 1, b; G. 551. — **Galliæ**, partitive gen. with **plurimum**. — **plurimum possent** = *were the strongest*. — **confirmat**, *asserts* (confidently).

**5. oratione**, *plea*, or *argument* (abl. of means). — **fidem et jusjurandum**, i. e. *assurance confirmed by oath*. (This way of expressing a single idea by two nouns instead of a noun and adjective is called *hendiadys*; and is very common in Latin, especially in poetry.)

**regno occupato** (abl. absolute, expressing *condition*, see § 54,

10, b, R; G. 408, R), *in case they should get in their hands the royal power* : = *si occupaverimus*. — *per tres populos*, i. e. Helvetii, Ædui, and Sequani; a league between these, they hope, will secure their power over all Gaul. — *posse*, equivalent to a future infinitive (see § 58, 11, f; G. 240). — *Galliæ*, governed by *potiri*; see § 54, 6, d; G. 405.

4. *ea res, this thing* (i. e. conspiracy). The word *res* would often be best rendered by some more specific word in English, as *action, fact, event, estate, &c.*, according to the passage. The Helvetians were prepared to emigrate in a body, and subdue the rest of Gaul; but not to surrender to Orgetorix the power thus acquired. His act was treason, — a conspiracy within a conspiracy.

*moribus suis, according to their custom* (abl. of manner). — *ex vinclis* (= *vinculis*; so *hindrance* for *hinderance* in English), *out of chains*, i. e. standing in chains. A Latin idiom, cf. *ex equis, on horseback*. — *causam dicere, to plead his case*, a technical expression for being brought to trial.

*damnatum* (sc. *eum*, object of *sequi*), *if condemned*. (In this sentence, the subject of *oportebat* is the clause *damnatum . . . sequi*; the subject of *sequi* is *pœnam*; and *ut . . . cremaretur* is in apposition with *pœnam*, defining the punishment: § 70, 4, f; G. 559.) Translate, *it must needs be that the penalty should overtake him, if condemned, of being burned with fire*. (For the ablative in *i*, see § 11, i. 3, b<sup>2</sup>; G. 60, 3, a. This form is often used by Cæsar and earlier writers.)

2. *die constituta, on the day appointed*, § 55, 1 (R. 34); G. 392; for the gender of *die* see § 13, 2, N. — *causæ dictionis, of the pleading of the case* (it would be more usual to say *dicendæ*): doubled genitives used in this way are said to be more frequent with Cæsar than with any other writer (§ 50, 2, R<sup>4</sup>; G. 361, R<sup>2</sup>).

*ad iudicium, near the [place of] judgment*. — *familiam, clansmen*: by Roman use, this would mean *slaves*; but it is more probable that it here means all who bore his name, or regarded him as their chief. — *ad . . . decem milia, to [the number of] 10,000*. — *clientes, retainers*, volunteer or adopted followers; *obæratos, debtors*, the only class of slaves that seems to have been known in Gaul, see vi. 13, 2. — *per eos, by their means* (§ 54, 4, b; G. 403).

3. *cum . . . conaretur, when the state attempted*: relative time, § 62, 2, b; G. 582. — *neque . . . suspitio* (the true spelling of this word), *and the suspicion is not wanting*. The negative *neque* (= *and not*) is oftener best translated by dividing in this way.

*quin . . . consciverit (conscisco), that he decreed death to himself (his own death)*, i. e. *committed suicide*. Observe that *ipse, self*, agrees in Latin rather with the subject; not, as in English, with the

object. "Orgetorix (it will be noticed) was never in the power of the magistrates, he was not put in chains, nor did he die in prison."

5. *nihilo minus*, often written in one word, as in English, *nevertheless*. — *constituerant*, *had resolved*: observe the pluperfect, as following the historical present. — *ut . . . exeant*, in apposition with *id*: as we should say, "namely, to go forth."

*ubi arbitrati sunt*, *when they judged*: observe the regular use of the perfect indicative with *ubi*, *postquam*, etc., § 62, 2, *a*; G. 563. — *rem*, *enterprise*. — *oppida*, *towns*, fortified and capable of defence; *vicos*, *villages*, i. e. groups of houses about a single spot. (In a city, *vici* is a *street*, considered as the houses occupied; *via* is the travelled way between them.) The villages and houses were burned, partly to cut off hope of return; partly to prevent their being occupied by their enemies, the Germans. — *incendunt*, *set fire to*.

*præterquam quod*, *excepting what*: observe that in this phrase *quam* means *than*, and *præter* is the comparative of *præ*: lit. *further than what*. — *comburunt*, *burn up*. — *molita cibaria*, *milled bread-corn*: every man to take his own supply for three months' use. — *domum*, § 55, 3, *b*; G. 410, following *reditionis*.

2. *Rauracia*, etc., German tribes from Baden, just north of the Rhine. — *uti*, the older form for *ut*, common in Cæsar. — *una cum* *his*, *along with them* (lit. *by one way*).

*Boios* (from whom the name *Bohemia* is derived): a Celtic tribe, whom the great German advance had cut off from their kinspeople towards the west, and who were now wandering homeless, some of them within the limits of Gaul.

5. *Noricum*, *Noreiam* (see map), the name sometimes given in modern times to the district about Nuremberg, some distance further north. — *receptos . . . adsciscunt*: in English, in a sentence like this, we should use a separate verb instead of the participle (§ 72, 3; G. 667). Translate, *they receive the Boii into their own number (ad se), and vote them in as allies to themselves*.

6. *omnino*, *in all*, i. e. *only*. — *itineræ*, *itineribus*: observe the form of this relative sentence (common in Cæsar), which gives the antecedent noun in both clauses. It is usually omitted in one or the other (see § 48, N): in English, almost always in the relative clause; in Latin, quite as often in the other. — *possent* (potential subj. § 60, 2, *a*; G. 602), i. e. *they might go out* [if they desired].

*Sequano*, i. e. the region now called *Franche Comté*, north of the Rhone: they gave their name to the river Seine (*Sequana*), living near its upper waters. — *inter . . . Rhodanum*: the pass now guarded by the Fort *l'Ecluse*, about nineteen Roman (eighteen

and a half English) miles below Geneva. Between Geneva and this point the banks are steep on both sides the river; but with many spots of lower ground where a passage could easily be made. The Rhone at this part was the boundary of the Roman province. The choice was between crossing the river and proceeding along its northern bank.

**vix, qua, etc.,** *where carts could scarcely be hauled in single file* (see § 18, 2, *a*; G. 95). — **autem** (a mild adversative), *now*.

2. **multo facilius**, *much easier* in itself; but it required them to crush the Roman legion at Geneva, and force their way through about fifty miles of territory occupied by the Roman arms. — **propterea quod**, see note to ch. 1<sup>1</sup>. — **nuper pacati erant**, *had been lately subdued* (reduced to peace). A rebellion "of despair," B. C. 61, had been subdued by C. Pomptinus.

**locis**, loc. abl. (§ 55, 3, *f*; G. 385). — **vado**, *by ford* (*wading, vadendo*).

**Genua** (**Genva**) is nearest to the modern German name (*Genf*); it is also spelled *Genava* and *Geneva*. The name is said to mean a *mouth*.

3. **sese persuasuros** [*esse*] (notice that in the future infinitive, used in indirect discourse, *esse* is usually omitted; in direct disc. it would be *persuadebimus*), *they thought they should persuade*: its object is **Allobrogibus**. — **bono animo** = *well disposed*: five years before, their envoys in Rome had intrigued with Catiline's agents, whom they at length betrayed (see Cicero, Cat. iii. § 22).

4. **a. d. v. Kal. Apr.** (see § 56, 1, *f*; G. App.), nominally, March 28 (§ 84, 3; G. App.). According to the astronomer Leverrier, the true date was March 24, or just after the spring equinox: others have made it as late as April 16. The calendar was in a state of great confusion at this time, and till Cæsar's reform, 12 years later. (For a character of the consuls Piso and Gabinius, see Cicero's speech on his own exile, *Pro Sestio*: "Select Orations.")

7. **Cæsari**: he was at this time at Rome, having laid down his consulship, preparing to set out for his province. Every consul was entitled to the governorship of a province for one year after his term of office, and by a special law Cæsar's province had been conferred for a term of five years. This news hastened his movements.

**id**, in appos. with **eos** . . . **conari** (the real subject of **esset**), *that they were attempting to force a march, &c.* — **maturat**, *hastens*; travelling, his biographers say, 100 miles in a day. The subject, **Cæsar**, is here omitted with the leading verb, being expressed in the relative clause.

**quam maximis potest itineribus** (§ 17, 5, *c*; G. 317): **potest** is usual with Cæsar in this phrase, which is elliptical. In full it

would be, *tam magnis quam maximis*, as great as the greatest; i. e. *the greatest possible* (ch. 10<sup>3</sup>).

**ab urbe**: this word, unless some other place is indicated, always means Rome, THE CITY. Cæsar was *near*, but not *in* the city, not being permitted to enter it while holding the military authority (*imperium*) of proconsul. — *ulteriorem*, i. e. beyond the Alps. The northern part of modern Italy was still called *Gallia Cisalpina*, and was a part of Cæsar's province.

2. **provinciæ** (dat.) *imperat*, levies on the province. The "entire province" probably included Dalmatia as well as Cisalpine Gaul, both being in Cæsar's jurisdiction.

3. **certiores facti sunt**, were informed. — **qui dicerent**, who were [instructed] to say (§ 64, 1; G. 544). — **sibi . . . liceat**: observe carefully the construction of the indirect discourse (§ 67, R. and 1; G. 653): in direct discourse it would be, "*Nobis est in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter habemus nullum; rogamus, ut tua voluntate id nobis facere liceat.*" A little attention to this in the beginning will relieve this very frequent construction in Cæsar of all difficulty.

**sibi**, dat. of possession (§ 51, 3; G. 349); of **esse**, the subj. is the clause *iter . . . facere*, while the whole passage **sibi . . . liceat**, is the object of **dicerent**. Render, *that they had [it] in mind to make, &c.* — **aliud . . . nullum**, like the English, *other passage had they none.* — **rogare**: of this verb the subject is *se*, understood; and the object is the clause **ut . . . liceat** (§ 70, 3, a; G. 546, R<sup>1</sup>): *they begged it might be allowed them to do this with his consent.*

4. **L. Cassium . . . occisum** [esse], object of **memoria tenebat**, as a phrase of *knowing* (§ 57, 8, e; G. 527). This defeat happened B. C. 107, in the terrible invasion of the Cimbri or Teutons, the Helvetians being their allies. "The army of Cassius was one of six swept away by these barbarians."

6. **sub jugum**, under the yoke (hence the word *subjugate*). The *jugum* was made by sticking two spears in the ground, and laying another across them above. To pass under this was equivalent to *laying down of arms* by a modern army.

**concedendum** [esse], depending on **putabat**, impersonal (see § 73, 1, R; G. 427, R<sup>1</sup>): *thought that no concession should be made*, lit., "that it must not be yielded."

**homines**, subj. of **temperaturos** [esse], depending on **existimabat**: *he judged that men of hostile temper* (abl. of quality, § 54, 7; G. 402), *if the opportunity were given* (abl. absolute) *of making a march* (gerundive, § 73, 3, a; G. 429) *through the province, would not (neque) refrain from wrong and mischief.*

5. **dum . . . convenirent** (§ 62, 2, d; G. 574), until the men



*should muster.* — *diem se sumpturum* [esse], *he would take time.* *si quid . . . reverterentur* (subj. for imperat. § 67, 3; G. 664): in direct discourse, *if you wish any thing* (said he), *return on the 13th of April.*

8. *ea legione*, with *that legion* (abl. of instrum.). In this sentence, observe how all the qualifying clauses come first, and the direct objects *murum*, *fossam*, come next before the leading verb *perducit* (§ 76, 1); while each relative belongs to *the verb which comes next after it* unless another relative intervenes,—a very convenient rule in analyzing a long and difficult sentence.

*decem novem*, *nineteen*, following the windings of the river (see note, ch. 6). — *murum*: this rampart, or earthwork, was on the south side of the river, leaving the passage undisputed along the northern bank.

The banks of the Rhone in this part are generally rugged and steep, with sharp ravines; there are only four short reaches—a little over three miles in all—in this course of eighteen miles requiring defences, and only two places where the river is fordable. Some remains of Cæsar's works can still be traced, according to the French engineers who surveyed the ground under the orders of Napoleon III. According to Cæsar's statement, the work was continuous (this is the meaning of *perducit*). We may assume, however, that the earth-wall was not necessarily built up to the full height (16 feet) the whole distance, but was often formed by digging away from the natural bank to form the trench. At the same time, we must remember that the Roman soldiers were accustomed to an amount of labor with the spade which no army at the present day would submit to.

2. *castella*, *bastions* or *redoubts*, along the line of the works. — *quo facilius possit*, *that he may the more easily*: the usual construction (§ 64, 1, a; G. 545, 2). — *se invito* (abl. abs.), *against his will*.

3. *negat se posse*, *says he cannot*. — *si conentur*, future condition in indirect discourse: direct, it would be *si conabimini*. — *prohibiturum* [se esse] *ostendit*, *shows that he shall stop them* (pointing to his works).

4. *dejecti*, *down-cast*: *de* in composition generally has the meaning *down*. — *nonnumquam*, *sometimes* (§ 41, 2, e, R.). — *si . . . possent*, an indirect question (§ 67, 2, f; G. 603), depending on *conati*: *trying if they could break through*. — *conatu*, abl. of separation, following *destiterunt*, *desisted*.

9. *Sequanis invitis* (abl. abs. of condition), *in case the Sequani should refuse*. — *sua sponte*, *by their own influence*: a rare meaning of this phrase, which is generally, *of their own accord*. — *eo*

**deprecatores** (abl. of instrum.), *by his means as advocates*. — **impretrarent**, *they might obtain* [it].

2. **gratiā**, *personal influence*; **largitione**, *lavish gifts and hospitalities*, like those of old chiefs of the clan. — **duxerat**: this word is used of the man who marries a wife, i. e. he *leads* her to his own house; of the woman it is said, **nubit viro** (dat.), i. e. she *puts on the veil* for him. — **novis rebus** (dat. § 51, 2, *b*; G. 346, R<sup>2</sup>), *revolution*, change in the state. — **habere obstrictos**, *to keep close bound*.

3. **impetrat** has for obj. **ut . . . partiantur**; and **perficit, uti . . . dent**: *obtains* (from their good will) *that they will allow the Helvetii to go, &c., and brings it about that they exchange hostages*.

7. 10. **renuntiatur**, *word is brought back*, i. e. from messengers sent to ascertain: the subject is the clause **Helvetiis esse**, etc. (see note 7<sup>3</sup>). — **Tolosatum**, of *Tolosa*, the modern *Toulouse*.

The Santones give the name to the modern province of *Saintonge*, on the Bay of Biscay. This is so far from the borders of the Province, as to show that Cæsar was only searching for a pretext; for of course he had no authority to interfere, unasked, with a passage through the territory of the Sequani. One motive in writing the Commentaries, we must remember, was to produce political effect in Rome.

2. **futurum** [esse] **ut haberet**, etc., *it would be to the great peril of the province* (§ 70, R) *that he would have*: nearly = **se habiturum** [esse], a kind of periphrastic future (§ 58, 11, *f*; G. 240) carried into the past by sequence of tenses (*intellegebant*). — **locis** (loc. abl.) **patentibus**, *in an open country*: the S. W. part of Gaul is a broad river valley, giving easy access to the province.

3. **munitioni præfecit**, *he put in command of the fort*. — **Labienum**: this was Cæsar's best officer, a prominent and influential politician, of strongly democratic sympathies. He served Cæsar faithfully through the Gallic wars, but when the Civil war broke out, he joined what he conceived to be the party of the republic, went over to Pompey, and was killed at Munda.

**legatum**, *aid*, or *staff-officer*. There were generally three of them assigned to the commander by the Senate, his wishes being considered in the selection.

**magnis itineribus**, as in ch. 7<sup>1</sup>. It is also the usual phrase for *forced marches* of an army. The ordinary day's march of the Romans was about 15 miles; a *magnum iter* was from 20 to 25 miles, — each soldier carrying, besides his trenching tools, personal baggage (*sarcina*), five wooden palisades for fortifying the camp: in all, a weight often of 50 or 60 pounds.

**legiones**: a legion at this time consisted, theoretically, of ten cohorts of 600 men each, — all infantry; each cohort being divided

into three maniples. Cæsar's legions, in fact, contained less than 3500 men each.

**Aquileiam**: an important Roman colony at the head of the Adriatic. It continued to be the chief port of trade for this region till outgrown by Venice.

**qua proximum iter**, i. e. by way of Susa and Turin, by Mt. Genève. Ocelum is identified with *Houlx*, a little south-west of Turin. The more direct way by Mt. Cenis began to be used under Augustus.

4. **compluribus . . . pulsais**, interlocked order, **his** agreeing with **pulsais** (§ 76, 2, *h*). — **ab Ocelo pervenit**, *came through* from Ocelum. — **trans Rhodanum**, towards the west, as the Rhone, at Lyons, turns abruptly to the south. His object was to head off the Helvetians, who had advanced westwardly, north of the upper course of the river, and had now reached the territory of the *Ædui*. Cæsar's army by this time amounted to near 25,000 men; the Helvetians had between 80,000 and 100,000 warriors to oppose him, with (probably) at least 8500 waggons.

11. **jam traduxerant**, *had already brought across*; **per angustias**, i. e. though the *pas de l'Ecluse*, before described. The emperor Napoleon III. enters into a calculation to show that Cæsar's absence cannot have occupied less than two months; so that the following events took place in the latter part of June. — **rogatum** (supine), *to ask*.

2. **ita se**, understand **dicentes** or some such word. In direct discourse, this will be, "Ita [*nos*] . . . *meriti sumus*, ut pæne in conspectu exercitus tui, . . . *liberi nostri* . . . *non debeant*:" *we have so deserved . . . that our fields ought not to be wasted, &c.*

**meritos**: "Alone among the Gauls," says Tacitus, "the *Ædui* claim the name of brotherhood with the Roman people" (Ann. xi. 25). There was even a later fiction of a common descent from Troy for the Arverni (Lucan, i. 427). So it was an old notion that Britain had its name from Brutus, a grandson of Ascanius.

3. **Hædui Ambarri**, the *Ædui* near the Arar (or Saone), occupying the angle between that river and the Rhone. (Some editions omit *Hædui* in this title; others write, *eodem tempore quo Ædui, Ambarri quoque*.)

**necessarii**, close connections (bound by *necessitudo*, which Cæsar used to call *necessitas*); **consanguinei**, blood-kindred.

**depopulatis agris . . . prohibere**, *their fields were already wasted, and they were with difficulty attempting to keep off, &c.* (see § 72, 3, R; G. 667, R').

8. 4. **nihil esse reliqui** (part. gen.), *there is nothing left to them, except the very soil of the fields.*

5. *non expectandum, must not wait.* — *sociorum*: the Helvetians would be sure to levy upon the allies of the Romans wherever they found them.

12. *flumen, etc., the Arar (Saone) is a river which flows through, &c.*; not *between*, which would be expressed by *dividit*. The Saone joins the Rhone about 75 miles south-west of Lake Geneva. — *lenitate*, not so much *slowness* as *smoothness*; contrasting not only with the Rhone, but with the swiftness and turbidness of the rivers in Italy. "Cæsar knew no streams 'waving their lazy lilies.'"

*ratibus, rafts* of logs; *luntribus, canoes* of hollowed logs, joined, perhaps, two and two, with a broad deck covering them. The swift streams of the south of Europe are often crossed by boats swung from moorings at some distance up-stream, and carried across either way by the force of the current. — *in . . . fluat*, indir. question following *judicari*.

2. *partes*, object of *duxisse*; *flumen* governed by *trans* in composition (§ 50, 2, *b*; G. 330, R<sup>1</sup>), *had conveyed three parts . . . across this river.* — *Ararim*: for the acc. in *im*, see § 11, i. 3, *a*<sup>1</sup> (names of rivers). — *reliquam* = *relictam*: in fact this adjective is, from its meaning, a kind of participle.

*de tertia vigilia* = *just at midnight*, the night, from sunset to sunrise, being divided into four equal watches.

3. *concidit* (con, *cædo*), *cut to pieces.* — *mandarunt* = *mandaverunt* (§ 30, 6, *a*; G. 191<sup>b</sup>), *abandoned* (lit. *give in hand, manu, do*); *abdiderunt*, *hid* (lit. *put away*).

*pagus*, properly, "a military district round a fortified place." This district (*Tigurinus*) is about the modern *Zurich*.

4. *L. Cassium*, see ch. 7<sup>a</sup>. — *deorum*: this reference to a special providence is noticeable in so stern a realist as Cæsar. Compare his curious account of the divine omens which accompanied his victory over Pompey, B. C. iii. 105.

*quæ pars intulerat . . . ea persolvit*, render *that part which, &c.* (see § 48, 3, *b. R*; G. 622).

*pœnas persolvit*, *paid to the uttermost the penalty.* Punishment was regarded among the ancients, not as *suffering* to be *inflicted*, but as of the nature of a *fine* or *penalty* to be *paid*; hence *sumere*, *to inflict*, and *dare* or *solvere*, *to suffer*.

In 1862, numerous remains were discovered buried in two trenches, probably of those slain in this battle, — "pell-mell, skeletons of men, women, and children." — *Hist. of Julius Cæsar*.

5. *injurias, wrongs*, not simply *damage*, as the word came to mean afterwards. From Cæsar's point of view, an offensive war against Rome is necessarily wrong. Besides, hostility or friend-

ship towards a foreign state might become a family tradition, and so a bounden duty. — *ultus est, avenged.*

*soceri*: L. Calpurnius Piso, father of Shakespeare's Calphurnia, and consul of the present year (see end of ch. 6).

**13. consequi, overtake** (hence the frequent meaning *acquire*). — *faciendum curat, provides for making* (§ 72, 5, c; G. 431).

2. *cum . . . intellegent*, clause of relative time (§ 62, 2, b; G. 282). — *id*, object of *fecisse*, and in appos. with *ut . . . transirent*. — *diebus viginti, in the course of 20 days* (§ 55, 1; G. 392). — *in, upon*, not simply *over*.

*legatos*, a participle of *lego* (*depute*), used as a noun; hence, diplomatically, *envoy* or *ambassador*, and in military affairs *aid* or *lieutenant*. — *legationis*, a collective noun, and so answering (by *synesis*) to the plural *legatos*. — *Divico*, now an old man, since the battle in which he was commander took place 49 years before.

**9. 3. si pacem, etc.**: compare the form of direct discourse given to this address, § 67, at the end. — *in eam partem . . . ubi, to whatever part*, i. e. of Gaul. They were not, however, to be turned back from their migration. — *reminisceretur* (subj. for imperat.): *remember* [said he]. — *incommodi, disaster*: for the government of the genitive, see § 50, 4, a; G. 375.

4. *improviso, unexpectedly, by surprise* (properly abl. abs. § 54, 10, c; G. 438, R<sup>2</sup>). — *suis, to their own people* (§ 47, 3, a; G. 195, R<sup>1</sup>). — *ne tribueret* (for imperative), *do not ascribe it*. — *dolo, craft: insidiis, ambuscade*.

5. *ne committeret ut, etc., let it not be, &c.* (§ 70, 4, e; G. 557). — *ubi constitissent, where they had taken their stand* (notice the intensive force of *con*).

**14. eo** (abl. of means) *minus . . . quod, . . . teneret; he had all the less hesitation because he kept in mind, &c.*

*eo gravius . . . quo minus* (§ 54, 6, e, R); he was the more incensed, in proportion as the Roman people had less deserved, &c.

2. *qui si fuisset, now if they* (the Roman people) *had been*. — *non fuisse* (for *fuisset* of dir. disc.), *it would not have been*. — *eo deceptum* [esse], *they had been deceived by this*.

*quare timeret*: this indirect question is the subject of *commisum* [esse], in the sense of *any thing that should give them fear*, and follows *intellegeret*: *because they* (the Roman people) *did not know what they had done to be afraid of*.

3. *quod si* (§ 52, 3, b; G. 331, R<sup>2</sup>) . . . *vellet, now if they should consent to forget, &c.* — *num posse* = *what! could they, &c.*

*injuriarum*, obj. of *memoriam*. — *eo invito* = *against their will* (*quod . . . vexassent* is a clause of *fact*, properly indicative, § 70, 5; G. 525, but subj. by indirect discourse).

4. *sua*, *their own* (the Helvetians); so *se tulisse* (= *intulisse*), *that they had committed*. The clause *quod . . . admirarentur* is subj. of *pertinere*: *As for their insolent boasting of their victory and their surprise* (no doubt) *that they had been so long unpunished in their wrong, it amounts to the same thing*.

5. *quos . . . his*, *to grant an interval of prosperity and longer impunity to those whom they wish to punish for their guilt*. "Divico had not said any thing in the way of direct boasting. This eloquent passage was perhaps an answer to his manner, or to the fact that he was the same Divico who had slain L. Cassius." Observe the change to primary tenses, when the language of Cæsar expresses a general truth.

6. *cum*, *though* (§ 62, 2, *e*; G. 587).—*sibi*, *to him*, Cæsar.—*facturos*, sc. *eos*.—*Hæduis*, dat. after *satisfaciant*, *pay damages*.—*ipsis*, dat. after *intulerint*.

10. 15. *equitatum*: the cavalry was wholly made up of contingents furnished by subjects (of the provinces) or allies (as the *Ædui*).—*coactum habebat*, lit., *had got together* (§ 70, 3, *b*; G. 230): more strictly *held* (had in hand) *after being collected*.

2. *cupidius*, *too eagerly* (§ 17, 5, *a*; G. 312).—*novissimum agmen*, *the rear*: *agmen* is the army in line of march (*ago*); and its *newest* part is that which comes along last.—*alieno loco*, *an unfavorable ground* ("another's"); so *suo* would be *favorable* ("his own").

3. *sublati* (*tollo*), *elated*.—*equitibus*, abl. of means.—*subsistere*, *to make a stand*.—*novissimo agmine* (loc. abl.), *at their rear*.

4. *satis habebat*, *held it sufficient*.—*hostem . . . prohibere*, in appos. with *satis*, as object of *habebat*.

5. *ita*, *uti*, *so that* (correl.).—*quinis*, *senis*, distributives, implying that this was the *constant* or *average* distance between the two armies. The country here is very irregular and broken; so that it was impossible for Cæsar to get any advantage by a rapid march, or by an attack on the Helvetian rear.

16. *cotidie* = *quotidie* (§ 1, 2, *b*).—*Hæduos frumentum*, *required corn of the Ædui* (§ 52, 2, *c*; G. 333).—*flagitare*, historical infinitive (§ 57, 8, *h*; G. 850).—*frigora*, *the cold season*, or *spells of cold*: not *the cold* in general.—*pabuli*, *green fodder* (root in *pasco*).—*frumento*, object of *uti*.—*propterea . . . quod*, see ch. 1<sup>st</sup>.

2. *ducere* (histor. infin.), *dragged on*.—*conferri*, etc. [*frumentum*]: as English has no present passive. translate actively, "said it was getting together, was coming in, was close by."—*metiri*, *measure out*: the allowance was 50 pounds a month.—*Divitiaco*,

**Lisco**, abl. in appos. with **principibus**.—**summo magistratui præerat**, held the chief office, of which the Celtic title was *guerg breth*, “executor of judgment,” represented in Latin by *Vergobretus*.—**in suos**, over his people.

**11. 3. necessario** (attrib.), at so urgent a time; **propinquis** (pred.), with the enemy so near.

**17. privatim plus possint**, have more power in private station: some copies read **privati**, as private men.

**2. improba oratione**, reckless talk.—**ne** (§ 70, 3, e; G. 549) . . . **præferre**, from bringing the corn which they were bound to furnish; [representing that] if they could no longer hold the chief rank in Gaul, they prefer the rule of Gauls to [that of] Romans.

This sentence gives a good example of what is called a Various Reading. It must be remembered that these Commentaries were first written as rough notes, or memoranda, and were afterwards copied by hand for centuries before their form was fixed by printing. The sentence as it stands is that given in the best editions; some of which, however, have **perferre**, bear, for **præferre**, prefer. In the above rendering, **præstare** has the active meaning to furnish; and **quam** the meaning than, after the comparative implied in **præferre**. This makes the sense clear, but is awkward and hard. To remedy it, the neatest and best conjecture is to put the pause after **conferant**, read **debeat** for the plural **debeant**, and **perferre** for **præferre**, thus: “deterre ne frumentum conferant; quod præstare debeat, si jam principatum Galliæ obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperium perferre.” Here **quod** is because, and **quam** follows the comparative in **præstare**, taken in the neuter sense of excel; and the passage reads, from bringing in the corn; since it must be better (**præstare debeat**) to bear, &c. But there is no manuscript authority for **debeat**. Some would read **dicant** for **debeant**: since, they say, it is better, &c.; but this is mere conjecture. Others, again, put **satiùs esse** after **perferre**; but this is only an explanatory note, written by some early editor.

**neque dubitare quin**, § 65, 1, b; G. 550.—**debeant**: a word given thus in brackets is one of which the authority is doubtful; it may sometimes require to be omitted in translation.—**superaverint**, perf. subjunctive for fut. perf. (same form) of direct disc.—**Hæduis**, dative, § 51, 2, e; G. 346.

**3. a se**, i. e. by Liscus, as chief magistrate.—**quin etiam**, nay even: often written as one word.—**quam diu**, as long as.—**necessario**, unavoidably; **coactus**, on compulsion.

**18. pluribus præsentibus** (abl. abs.), in the presence of several.—**jactari**, bandied about (freq. of jacio).

**2. ex solo**, from him apart.—**secreto** (**secerno**), each by himself.—**summa audacia**, [a man] of utmost boldness.

3. *portoria, customs-dues*, levied at the frontier, collected (apparently) as by the Romans, through *publicani*, who bid for the contract at public auction. The other *vectigalia*, farmed out for collection in the same way, were tithes on farm produce, rent of public pastures, &c. — *redempta*, agreeing with *vectigalia*, and taken with *habere*, *had bought in* (see 15'). — *illo licente*, *when he bid*.

4. *ad largiendum, for gifts*, to buy political support.

12. *largiter posse, had extensive power*. — *causā*, *for the sake*: as always when thus following a genitive. — *potentiæ*, *power*, as an attribute of the person: *potestas* is power to do any thing; *facultas*, opportunity; *imperium*, military authority. — *collocasse*, *had established in marriage* (*nuptum*). — *Biturigibus*, *near the modern Bourges*. — *ex matre*, *on the mother's side*.

5. *favere . . . Helvetiis* (dat.), *he favored the Helvetians and desired* [their success]: some such object must be supplied to *cupere*. — *adfinatatem*, *family alliance*. — *suo nomine*, *on his own account* (a legal phrase applying to business debts, &c.).

6. *si quid accidat* (a mild phrase), *in case of any disaster*. — *imperio* (abl. of circumstance), *under the rule*.

7. *quod . . . factum*, a kind of adverbial phrase = *in regard to the unsuccessful cavalry-skirmish fought the other day*.

19. *res, facts*. — *accederent, were added*: *accedo* is used as a kind of passive of *addo*. — *inter eos*, i. e. the Helvetii and Sequani. — *in iussu suo*, etc., *without his authority* (§ 12, 4, b) or *that of the state*: here *suo* is equivalent to a genitive. — *inscientibus ipsis*, *without his own knowledge or that of the Ædui*. — *in eum animadverteret*, *should bend his mind upon him*, i. e. *proceed against or punish him*.

2. *quod . . . cognoverat*, *that he well knew*, &c. (the present inceptive, *cognosco*, having the meaning *to learn*). This clause, in apposition with *unum*, might in English be introduced by some such word as *namely*. — *studium*, *attachment as partisan*; *voluntatem*, *good will as friend*. — *supplicio*, *punishment or execution*. This word is derived from the adjective *supplex*, *down-bent*, signifying *on the bended knee*; i. e. either as a suppliant for mercy, or (as here) to receive the blow of the executioner.

3. *prius quam conaretur*, *before he should attempt*; see § 62, 2. c; G. 579. — *per* connects *Procillum* with *colloquitur*. — *principem*, *a leading man*.

13. *commonefacit*, *warns or notifies* (root in *moneo*). — *ipso*, i. e. *Divitiacus*. — *apud se*, *in his* (Cæsar's) *presence*. — *offensione animi*, *displeasure* (of *Divitiacus*); *ipse*, which follows, refers to Cæsar: he hopes, in what steps he takes or orders to be taken against *Dumnorix*, not to incur the resentment of his brother.



20. *ne quid gravius* (a common phrase), *no severe measures*.

2. *scire se*, etc., "I know," said he, "that this is true, and no one can be more pained at it than I."—*plus doloris*: except as an adverb, this comparative can only be used, as here, with the partitive genitive.—*ipse, se, suam, sese*, all refer to Divitiacus; *ille* to Dumnorix, which is also the subject of *crevisset* and *uteretur*.—*opibus ac nervis*=*sinews of power*, obj. of *uteretur*.—*gratiam* as well as *perniciem* takes *suam*.—*amore fraterno* (§ 47, 5, c; G. 363, R<sup>1</sup>), *love to his brother*.

3. *a Cæsare accidisset*=*should be done by Cæsar*.—*futurum [esse] uti . . . averterentur* (periphrastic future infin. § 58, 11, f; G. 240), *the heart of all Gaul would be turned from him*.

4. *rogat [ut] faciat*, see § 70, 3, f, R; G. 546, R<sup>2</sup>.—*tanti*, of *so great account* (§ 54, 8, a; G. 379).—*condonet*: "Cæsar pretended to yield to the prayers of the Druid, but in fact he yielded to necessity. He was in great straits, with a warlike enemy in front and doubtful allies around him, on whom his army was dependent for food" (Long: compare v. 6).

*præterita*, *things bygone* ("the past").—*Dumnorigi ponit* (= *adponit*), *sets over him*.

21. *qualis esset*, etc., indir. question after *cognoscerent*.—*natura*, *character*; *qualis . . . ascensus*=*the chance of ascending it at [various points of] its circuit*.—*qui cognoscerent* (§ 65. 2, a; G. 634): the antecedent of *qui* is *quosdam*, or some such word, as object of *misit*, *he sent men to ascertain*.

2. *facilem*, sc. *ascensum*.—*pro prætore*, *with powers of prætor*. The prætor, like the consul, held the *imperium*, or power to command; a *legatus*, not possessing this in his own right, might be temporarily invested with it by his commander.

14. *ducibus* (pred.), *as guides*.—*qui . . . cognoverant*, i. e. of the party of reconnoissance.—*consilii*, limiting *quid*, so signifying not *his plan* as a whole, but what he chooses to show of his plan.—*de quarta vigilia*, about 2 A.M.: the sun at this season rising here about 4 o'clock.—*contendit* (root TEN), *pushed on*.

3. *Sullæ, Crassi*: Sulla (the dictator) had conducted the war against Mithridates about 30 years before (B. C. 88–84), and Crassus that against Spartacus some years later (B. C. 71).

22. *aut Labieni, or Labienus's*: this predicate use of the genitive is rare in Latin.—*equo admisso*=*at full speed* (with reins thrown loose).

2. *insignibus*, i. e. *devices* on shields and helmets,—stags' horns, eagles' plumes, &c.,—the origin of modern heraldry. (Observe that the name *Gallie* here applies to the Helvetians.) The inference from this report would be, that Labienus had been cut to

pieces, and Cæsar must expect an attack at once. This accounts for his next movement, which was to fall back and wait in line of battle, while Labienus was vainly expecting him.

3. *ut, as.*—*ne . . . committerent . . . essent*, subject of *erat præceptum*.—*ut . . . fieret*, so that the attack might be made on all sides at once.—*monte occupato*, etc., having seized the height continued to look out for our men.

4. *multo die* (loc. abl.), late in the day.—*quod non vidisset*, what he had not seen, sc. *id*, obj. of *renuntiasset*.—*pro viso*, as if seen.—*quo*, sc. *eodem*, at the same interval as usual.—*tria* (acc.), § 55, 2, *b*; G. 335.

23. *diei*, § 50, 4, *e, R*; G. 418 (end).—*omnino*, in all (only).—*cum* = within which.—*Bibraote*, the modern *Mont Beuvray*, a considerable hill, about 10 miles west of *Autun* (*Augustodunum*).—*rei frumentariæ* (dat.), the supply of corn.

2. *fugitivos*, runaways. The regular word would be *transfugas*: the term which generally means fugitive slaves is here applied, contemptuously, to deserters from the cavalry of the Gallic allies.

*decurionis*: the auxiliary cavalry (the entire cavalry force) was divided into *alæ*, consisting each of 10 *turmæ*, and these again into three *decuriæ*, of probably 10 men, each commanded by a *decurio*. *Æmilius* was the senior officer.

3. *eo magis* (abl. of difference), all the more.—*locis*, etc., though holding higher ground.

15. *eo quod . . . confiderent* (abl. of cause), for this reason because they felt sure that they (the Romans) could be cut off from their supplies.

*itinere converso*: the fatal step which led to their complete destruction.

The Helvetians were now well in advance of Cæsar, and might probably have continued their march unmolested to the coast, had not their vain confidence turned them back. Cæsar's army was at this time not far from 60,000 men, including about 20,000 auxiliaries, mostly "Gaulish mountaineers;" so that he was a full match, in a fair field, for the Helvetians, who had now about 70,000 fighting men.

24. *animum advertit* (= *vertit animum ad*: usually written as one word, *animadvertit*): to turn the mind upon any thing is to notice it; hence this phrase takes a direct object (*id*) like a single transitive verb.—*qui sustineret* = to sustain (§ 64, 1; G. 544).

2. *in colle medio*, half way up the hill.—*triplicem aciem*, etc.—four veteran legions in triple line. The legion being composed of ten cohorts, four stood in the first line, — 10 men deep, —

and three in each of the other lines, disposed in the following order (*quincunx*):

4	3	2	1
7	6	5	8
	10	9	

each cohort being mentioned in order of rank. — *in summo jugo*, i. e. on the level top of the hill. — *ac* = *and thus*. — *sarcinas*, see 10<sup>3</sup>. — *eum, this* [place]. — *his qui, etc.*, simply, *those who stood in the upper* (i. e. rear) *ranks*: these were the two new legions, opposed to *veteranarum*, above.

3. *phalange facta*: the phalanx was a close, compact body, distinguished from the legion, in which the men stood usually six feet apart, so as to give them great freedom of action. (See what is said of the interlocking of the shields in the next chapter.) — *sub . . . successerunt, came up close below*.

25. *suo* [equo], *having sent back his own and all the others' horses*. This was often done before an engagement (cf. Sall. Cat. 59). Probably Cæsar distrusted the good faith of his cavalry, which consisted principally of Gauls. He is reported to have said to his men, "I will mount again when the enemy run."

*pilis, javelins*: these consisted of a stout staff, with a long, sharp, slender head, projecting about nine inches, making a weapon about six feet long, which could be thrown with considerable force about 100 feet. Each Roman soldier (heavy-armed) had two of these, and a short cut-and-thrust sword. The mode of attack was (as here) to hurl the javelins, and then rush with the sword upon the disturbed ranks of the enemy.

2. *impedimento*, dat. of service, § 51, 5 (R. 20); G. 350. — *pluribus, several*. For the whole of this description, compare what is said of the form of this javelin and the close order of the phalanx. — *scutis, shields* of plank, five feet long, designed to protect the whole body: these were pierced and pinned together at the edges where they overlapped. — *evellere, pull them out*. — *sinistra impedita* (parenthesis), *since the left hand was shackled*. — *multi ut, many* [to such a degree] *that*. — *nudo, unprotected*.

3. *pedem referre, fall back*: not *retreat*, which would be *terga vertere*. — *mille*, acc. of distance, the idea of distance being implied in *suberat*.

4. *capto monte, when they had reached the hill*. — *agmen claudebant, brought up their rear*. The Boii or Tulingi, with about 15,000 men, had been in front of the Helvetian line of march, and were consequently in the rear when they faced round to attack Cæsar. They now struck at his exposed flank (*latere aperto*) as they came upon the field (*ex itinere*).

16. *conversa signa intulerunt, faced about and charged in two divisions*. These stood not back to back, but at right angles

facing outward ; the two front lines facing forward, while the third met the flank attack of the new-comers (*venientes*).

26. *ancipiti*, *two-headed*, thus facing two ways at once. — *alteri*, the Helvetians ; *alteri*, the Boii, &c.

2. *ab hora septima*, i. e. from a little past 1 P. M. ; sunset was about eight, so that each of the twelve daylight hours was about an hour and a quarter of our time. — *aversum hostem* = *an enemy's back*. — *ad multam noctem*, *till late in the night*. — *pro vallo*, *as a barricade*. — *e loco superiore*, *from vantage-ground*, i. e. the height of the carts, &c. — *coniciebant*, *subiciebant*, *hurled* (from above), *thrust* (from below). For the form of these words, see § 1, 3, *d*. The semi-vowel *j* is lost before *i* : therefore in most dictionaries look for *conjicio*, *subjicio*. — *mataras*, Gallic pikes, thrown from the hand ; *tragulas*, heavy javelins, used by Gauls and Spaniards, and thrown by aid of a thong.

4. *Lingonum*, i. e. the southern part of *Champagne*, towards the north. — *propter* gives the reason of *morati*.

5. *Lingonas*, Greek form of the accusative (§ 11, iii. 6, *f*), common in these names of tribes. — *qui si juvissent* = *for if they should*, &c. — *eodem loco habiturum*, *would hold on the same footing*.

In the year 1860, numerous burial mounds near the place of this battle (in which considerably more than 100,000 human beings must have perished) were opened, and found to contain skeletons buried face downward, with knives, bracelets, rings, and hair-pins of bronze, very similar to the relics discovered shortly before in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. It has been conjectured that these lake-dwellings were among those destroyed at the time of the Helvetian migration (see De Saulcy, *Campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul*).

27. *qui . . . paruerunt*; observe the change of subject in this sentence, from *legati* to *Cæsar*, as well as the change of mood with the same subject, *convenissent*, *paruerunt*. The syntax will present no difficulty.

2. *qui per fugissent*, fugitive slaves from the Province. — *conquiruntur*, *conferuntur* : to express the present in English, it is often better to use the active form, *while they are hunting these up and bringing them together*. — *nocte intermissa*, *when the night was past* : i. e. it was then ascertained what had happened early in the evening. — *Verbigenus*, from the parts between Berne and Lucerne.

17. *occultari*, *be hid* from Cæsar ; *ignorari*, *unknown* to anybody. — *contenderunt ad*, *made* (rapidly) *for*.

28. *quorum*: the antecedent is *his* (dat.) following *imperavit*, the direct object of which is *uti . . . reducerent*. — *sibi* (dat. of

reference), *in his eyes*. — *reductos* . . . *habuit*, *when brought back*, *he treated them as enemies*, i. e. massacred them all: the phrase is regularly used in this signification.

*in deditionem accepit*: by this act they became formally the subjects of the Republic, and were entitled to its protection, as well as required to obey its requisitions and pay tribute.

2. *reverti*, *turn back* (from a march or journey; *redire*, *go back*, from a place of rest). — *fructibus* = *frugibus* (which is found in some copies), grain and other field produce. — *copiam facerent*, *provide a supply*. — *ipsos*, the Helvetians.

3. *ea ratione*, *with this view*: the word is connected both with *res*, *thing*, and *reor*, *think*.

4. *patentibus Hæduis*, *to the Ædui, at their request*: dat. after *concessit*, of which the object is, *ut Boios collocarent* (*Boios* is put first in the sentence, for emphasis.) — *parem atque ipsi erant* = *equal with themselves* (§ 43, 3, a<sup>1</sup>). — *condicionem*: for the form of this word, see § 1, 3, h.

29. *tabulæ*, *tablets*, of the shape of a folding slate, with wax spread inside, written with a pointed instrument called *stilus*.

*litteris Græcis*, i. e. in Greek characters, probably learned from colonists at Marseilles, as the Gauls had no alphabet of their own. Specimens of Gallic names on coins are in the names DUBNOREX, ΔΙΒΙΧΙΑΚΟΣ, VERCINGETORIXS. — *ratio*, *an estimate*, followed by the indir. question *qui . . . exisset*. — *confectæ*, *made out*.

2. *capitum*, "*souls*." — *ad milia xxi*, *about 92,000*.

3. *summa*, *the sum*: *fuerunt* agreeing with the plural predicate. Deducting the Boii, who were adopted by the Ædui, this reckoning would show an actual loss, in slain or captives (slaves), in this short campaign, of about 250,000, including probably about 150,000 women and children, or other non-combatants.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN. — The latter half of this Book is taken up with the expulsion of a military settlement of Germans, which had been made a few years before, under Ariovistus, chief of the tribe of Suevi.

The occasion of this new campaign was the following. The Ædui, jealous of the Sequani, who lived a little to the north, had laid excessive tolls on their trade, which consisted chiefly in the export of salted meats for the southern market.\* This led to a war, in which the Sequani had invited the aid of the Germans under Ariovistus, about three years before the campaign of Cæsar. The Germans, once in Gaul, had exacted a large share of territory, and proved to be grasping and oppressive masters. Meanwhile the Helvetian war began to threaten. The Roman Senate, to make safe, passed the decrees before mentioned, promising favor and friendship to the Ædui (ch. 11); and at

\* "From this region," says Strabo, "the best of pickled pork is sent to Rome" (iv. p. 192).

the same time sent messengers to Ariovistus, saluting him as king and friend (ch. 35), recognizing his claims on Gaul, and (it was said) inviting him to Rome. This was the year before, in Cæsar's consulship. Now, however, that the fear of the Helvetians was passed, Cæsar found himself obliged to take sides in the old quarrel.

**18. 30. populi Romani, against, &c. (obj. gen. after injuria).** — **ab his repetisset, had inflicted on them** (see ch. 12<sup>4</sup>). — **ex usu, to the advantage.**

**2. ea consilio, with this design,** expressed by the purpose-clause **uti . . . haberent.** — **florentissimus rebus, i. e. with no plea of necessity.** — **domicilio, for habitation.** — **ex magna copia = from a wide choice,** implied in **quem . . . judicassent.** — **stipendiarias, tributary: stipendium** is the tax paid by a subject community.

**3. uti sibi liceret, that it might be allowed them.** — **concilium totius Galliæ:** of course Cæsar had no authority to allow or prohibit a congress of independent Gaul. But, considering his power and ambition, they thought it best to secure his countenance (**voluntate, not auctoritate**) beforehand. They also had business that specially concerned him.

**4. jurejurando sanxerunt, ordained under oath of secrecy:** the object is **ne quis, etc.** — **nisi quibus, etc., except [to those] to whom some commission should be assigned** (pluperf. for fut. perf.).

**31. eo concilio dimisso, i. e. when this assembly had been held and dissolved, after providing for the business now described.** — **secreto, apart; in occulto, in a secret place.** — **idem (idem), nom. plural.**

**2. Cæsari, dat. of reference (§ 51, 7, a; G. 343, R<sup>2</sup>) = at Cæsar's feet.** — **id (in appos. with ne . . . enuntiarentur) contendere, etc., they no less urgently desired their account to be kept secret, than to obtain the thing they sought** (disc. **dixissent, for fut. perf. of direct).**

**3. factiones duas, see note, ch. 3<sup>3</sup>.** — **principatum, headship.** — **alterius, notice the parallel expressions alterius Hæduos, alterius Arvernus.** Such antitheses are often a great help in translation. — **Arvernus:** these inhabited the mountainous country S. W. of the Ædui, the modern *Auvergne*. — **factum esse uti, it came to pass that, &c.** — **Sequanis:** these were the rivals of the Ædui on the north.

**4. feri ac barbari:** as to the condition of the Germans, see Introduction. — **adamassent (= adamavissent, § 30, 6, a; G. 191<sup>6</sup>), had become attached.** — **horum (emph.), of the latter.** — **copias (= opes), resources.** — **plures, notice the emphasis, also in nunc.**

**5. clientes, the subject states of the Ambarri, Segusiavi, &c.** — **omnem . . . equitatum, of course an exaggeration: Divitiacus**

was himself a noble, probably a senator; while his brother, Dumnorix, was a commander of the Ædunan cavalry.

6. *qui . . . potuissent*, [they] *who had once, &c., were compelled*. — *repetituros*, *demand back*. — *quo minus*, following a verb of refusing (§ 65, 1, *a*; G. 547), seems originally to have been a phrase of courtesy, implying a less point-blank refusal than *ne* or *quin*. — *dicione*, i. e. to do their bidding. — *potuerit*, in direct discourse *potuit*, the perfect having a tendency to remain in the perfect, contrary to the rule.

7. *Romam venisse*, see note, ch. 3.

8. *pejus accidisse*, *a worse thing had befallen*. Observe that a misfortune is usually said *accidere* (verb-root CAD), as if it fell on one; while a good thing is said *evenire*. — *Ariovistus*, supposed to be the German word *Heerfürst*, "prince of the host."

*tertiam partem*, i. e. upper *Alsace*, a part of the German conquest of 1870. This was the same proportion of conquered land taken by the German invaders (*Burgundians*) in this very territory, in the fifth century of the Christian era. It seems to have been the ancient common law of conquest (Liv. ii. 41). — *optimus*: this district (*Franche Comté*) is one of the most beautiful in France, and the "best wooded." The chief export was dried meat and hams. — *nunc . . . juberet*: so too the *Burgundians*. — *occupavisset*, *taken possession of*. — *quibus . . . pararentur*, *for whom room and settlements must be prepared*. — *juberet*, in direct, *jubet*, *he bids*. — *quibus . . . pararentur*, = *who were to be provided with a place for habitation* (subj. of purpose).

9. *futurum esse uti* (periphrastic future), *the result would be*. — *neque enim* introduces an explanation admitting no doubt. — *hanc = nostram* (§ 20, 2, *a*), said with some feeling of superiority or contempt.

10. *autem*, *again*, a slight antithesis between the king and the things mentioned before. — *ut . . . vicerit*, indir. disc. for *ut vicit* (§ 62, 2, *a*; G. 563), *having once conquered*. — *Magetobriam*, a little west of Vesontio (*Besançon*). — *in eos . . . edere*, *gave forth*, i. e. *wreaked all sorts of torments on them*. — *cruciatuque* = *of torture* (hendiadys).

11. *barbarum, etc.*, *rude, passionate, and hasty*. — *nisi si* (see § 61, 4, *a*; G. 592, R<sup>3</sup>), *etc.*, *unless they find some aid*.

20. *idem*, in appos. with *ut . . . experiantur*. — *ut emigrant*, *that is, to forsake their home*.

12. *haec*, notice the emphasis. — *quin sumat*, *that he will inflict upon* (§ 57, 2, N); lit. *take a penalty of*. — *Rhenum*, acc. after *trans* in *traducatur* (§ 52, 2, *b*; G. 330, R<sup>1</sup>).

32. *habita*, *having been spoken* (the usual word). — *unos*, *alone*. This whole scene is "most illustrative of the Gallic character."

2. *quæ esset*, indir. question after *miratus*. — *respondere*, historical infinitive.

3. *hoc*, in this respect. — *soli*, they alone. — *ne . . . quidem*, not even secretly. — *absentis* (pred.), even when absent. — *tamen*, even yet, whatever they might have to suffer. — *Sequania*, dat. of virtual agent with *perferendi* (§ 51, 4, a; G. 353), the *Sequani* must endure (changing the voice). — *tamen*, i. e. even as it was.

33. *sibi curæ* (dat. of service, § 51, 5; G. 350), a care to him. — *et . . . et*, construe after *adductum*, induced by both . . . and.

2. *secundum*, in accordance with: lit. following (§ 73, 2, N; G. 427, R'). — *quare putaret*, indir. question, following *hortabantur*. — *Hæduos*, obj. of *videbat* and subj. of *teneri* (below).

21. *appellatos* (pred.), who had been often called. — *quod*: the antecedent is the preceding clause *quod . . . intellegebat*.

3. *periculosum*, pred., agreeing with *Germanos consuescere*, etc., he saw it was dangerous to the Roman people for the Germans, little by little, to get in the way of crossing the Rhine, &c. — *sibi temperaturos quin exirent*, would check themselves from going forth. — *ut*, as; *fecissent* being subjunctive as dependent on *exirent*, § 66, 2 (R. 47); G. 666.

4. *Rhodanus* = only the Rhone. — *rebus*, dat. following *occurrendum* [*sibi*], § 51, 2, d (R. 18); G. 346: which things he thought must be met at once. — *tantos spiritus*, such temper. — *ferendus*, bearable.

34. *ab eo*, of him (§ 52, 2, c, R; G. 333, R'). — *conloquio* (dat.), for a conference. — *medium utriusque*, between the two. — *de re publica agere*, to treat on public business.

2. *si quid*, etc., if he needed any thing from Cæsar. Observe in this sentence that the reflexives *ipse* and *se* refer to Ariovistus, and the demonstratives *is*, *ille*, to Cæsar. — *se velit*, wants of him: the secondary accus. is in analogy with verbs of asking. The acc. of neuter pronouns is often used with intransitive verbs or as a double accusative.

4. *mirum quid . . . esset*, a sort of indir. question: it seemed strange to him what business, &c. — *in sua Gallia*, in his own [part of] Gaul.

35. *tanto . . . adfectus*, distinguished by so great favor, &c. (see note before ch. 30): *beneficio* is explained by *cum . . . esset*, and *gratiam referret* by *ut . . . putaret*; the first *sibi* refers to Cæsar and the second to Ariovistus. In this sentence the causal clause is *quoniam . . . putaret*, and the leading verb is *esse*: Since, though so greatly favored by the Romans, he made such an ill return (*hanc gratiam referret*) as to grudge coming to a conference when invited, and would neither speak nor hear about the



common business, [therefore] *this demand is made upon him, &c.* "Ariovistus knew as well as any one how much gratitude he owed to Rome for these *beneficia*."

**22.** 2. *ne quam, not any.* — *voluntate, consent.* — *ejus* refers to Ariovistus, and *illis* to the Sequani.

3. *si non impetraret, if he (Cæsar) should not get [this pledge].* — *Messala, etc., i. e. B. C. 61.* *M. Messala, etc., simply in the consulship, &c.,* only to indicate the year. — *obtineret, should hold (as governor).* — *quod = so far as.* — *commodo reipublicæ, to the advantage of the state.* — *censuisset, had voted.* — *defenderet:* see the reasons, in the note referred to above. — *se,* a repetition of *esse* above, to bring it nearer to its verb.

**36.** *jus, a right.* — *viciissent* for *vicerint* (fut. perf.) of direct disc. — *his, obj. of imperarent:* *that those who conquer shall rule those they conquer as (quem ad modum) they will.* The verbs are in the past by sequence of tenses (§ 58, 10, d; G. 216). — *item, in like manner.* — *victis, obj. of imperare.* — *alterius, any one's else.*

3. *sibi stipendiarios, tributary to himself.* — *qui faceret = in making* (§ 65, 2, c; G. 637).

4. *non . . . neque:* [on the one hand] *he would not restore, &c., but [on the other] he would not wrongfully (injuriâ), &c.* — *convenisset = had been agreed.* — *longe . . . afuturum, the name of brothers would be a great way off from them, i. e. too far to help them.*

5. *quod, etc.,* the whole clause is construed as an adverbial accusative: *as to Cæsar's threat, &c.* — *secum, sua,* observe that these refer one to Ariovistus, the other to his antagonist. — *congrederetur* (for *imperat.*), *they might come on when they would; they should know, &c.* — *quid possent, what their strength was.*

**37.** *eodem tempore, et = at the same time [when] this message, &c.*

**23.** *questum, to complain* (supine). — *Treveris, from the region of Trèves, in the valley of the Moselle.* — *qui . . . essent, who (they said) had just come over* (§ 66, 1; G. 509).

2. *ne . . . datis, not even by giving hostages.* — *pagos* (see note, ch. 12<sup>d</sup>): these divisions were those known as *hundreds*, meaning not only the people, but the district (see iv. 1).

3. *maturandum sibi, that he must hasten.* — *resisti* (impers. § 51, 2, f; G. 208) *posset, resistance could be made.*

*minus facile, i. e. it would be impossible; but this would be a word of ill omen.* — *ad, towards.*

**38.** *Vesontionem, the modern Besançon, about ninety miles E. N. E. of the former battle-ground.* — *profecisse, had advanced.*

2. **ne**, following **præcavendum** (§ 70, 3, *e*; G. 549). — **facultas** = *facility for obtaining* (see note, ch. 31<sup>b</sup>). — **Dubis**, the modern *Doubs*. This name is said to mean “black river;” or, in the form *Alduasdubis*, “river of black rocks.” — **ut, as it were**.

3. **spatium**, obj. of **continet**. — **sexcentorum**, pred. gen. after **est**; for construction with **amplius**, see § 54, 5, *c*; G. 311, R<sup>1</sup>. — **ripæ** (dat.), following **contingant**.

4. **hunc [montem]**: *this an encompassing wall makes into a fortress*. — **occupato**, *taken possession of*.

39. **vocibus**, *talk*. — **prædicabant**, *vaunted*.

24. **sæpenumero**, *oftentimes*. Adverbs are frequently thus strengthened by a qualifying word, usually a genitive: as *hic loci*, &c. — **congressos**, *when they met them*. — **occupavit**, *seized*.

2. **tribunis militum**, infantry officers, six to each legion, who took command in turns of two months each; **præfectis**, commanders of cavalry and auxiliaries; **reliquis**, i. e. aids or *attachés* (*contubernales, comites*), who attended the governor or commander of a province for the sake of military practice. All these were often appointed from mere personal or political motives, and were of small use in the service, as it proved here. This staff was sometimes called, irregularly, the *prætorian cohort*.

**amicitiæ causa**: Cæsar's earlier career had been that of a political adventurer. He was deeply in debt, and probably could not afford to refuse positions to the “poor relations” of his creditors, trusting the valor of his veterans to cover their short-comings.

**aliis alia causa**, *on various pretexts* (§ 47, 9; G. 306). — **quam diceret**, *which, he said* (§ 66, 1, *d, R*; G. 539, R).

3. **vultum fingere**, *put on a brave face*. — **abditæ**, *hiding*. — **testamenta obsignabantur**, indicating utter despair. The word refers to a will, sealed and witnessed in due form, — not the mere informal declaration permitted to soldiers on the eve of battle (*in procinctu*). “Did they make the Germans their executors? The mixture of vexation and comedy in Cæsar's narrative is amusing” (Moberly).

4. **in castris** = *in military life*. — **centuriones**, two to each maniple, who were promoted from the ranks, like modern “non-commissioned officers.” — **rem frumentariam . . . timere** (accus. of anticipation, § 67, 2, *c*; G. 470), *feared [for] the supply of corn, lest it might not be conveniently brought in* (§ 70, 3, *f*; G. 552).

5. **cum jussisset**, for **cum jusseris** (fut. perf.) of direct disc. — **dicto audientes**, *obedient to the word of command*. — **signa laturos**, *would carry the standards*, i. e. *advance*. These were bronze eagles carried on a flag-staff, one to each legion; and of course must be borne in the thick of the fight.

40. **omnium ordinum**: the centurions ranked from one to six in each of the ten cohorts (see note, ch. 24<sup>2</sup>). To the ordinary council of war, only the first in each cohort was summoned. This was a full council of all the officers. — **sibi quærendum . . . putarent**, *thought they ought to inquire or have any idea*, in agreement with the interrog. clause **quam . . . ducerentur**.

2. **se consule** (direct, *me consule*), *in his consulship*. — **cur quisquam judicaret**, *why should any one so hastily think?* For the form of question, see § 67, *d*, R; G. 654, R<sup>2</sup> (direct, *judicet*, dubit. subj.); for the use of **quisquam**, implying a negative, see § 21, 2, *h*. — **discessurum**, *would fall away*. — **sibi persuaderi**, *for his part he was persuaded* (*mihi persuadetur*, § 51, 2, *f*; G. 208): the subject of **persuaderi** is **eum . . . repudiaturum**.

25. 3. **quod si intulisset**, *but if he had*, &c. (dir. disc. intulit). — **quid tandem**, *what, pray, were they afraid of?* — **sua**, *their own*; **ipsius**, *his own*: **ipse**, used in this way, is an *indirect reflexive*.

4. **periculum** (root in **experior**), *a trial*. — **Cimbris**, etc., A.D. 102 and 101, a little more than forty years before. — **servili tumultu**, the insurrection of the slaves (gladiators) under Spartacus, B.C. 73–71. These consisted largely of the Germans captured by Marius. A war at home, i.e. in Italy or on its borders, was called *tumultus* (see Cic. Phil. viii. 1). — **quos . . . sublevarent** (changing to passive so as to keep the emphasis), *who yet were considerably helped by the training and discipline they had got from us*.

5. **quantum boni**, *how much advantage* (§ 47, 4, *a*; G. 195, R<sup>2</sup>), *firmness has* (for the tense of **haberet**, see § 58, 10, *d*) — **inermos**, i.e. the slaves of Spartacus's force. — **quos . . . hos**: notice the relative as usual preceding the antecedent.

6. **hos**, the Germans with Ariovistus. — **quibuscum congressi**, etc. (changing the relative clause), *whom they have often met and beaten on their own ground* (as well as, &c.). — **qui**, i.e. the Helvetii. — **potuerint**, see § 58, 10, *c*, R; G. 513.

7. **adversum proelium**, see ch. 31<sup>5</sup>. — **si quos . . . commoveret**, *if any were alarmed by*. — **hos**, etc., *they could learn that when the Gauls were wearied out*, &c. — **Ariovistum**, subj. of **vicisse**. — **neque . . . fecisset**, *had given them no chance at him*.

8. **cui rationi**, etc. (putting the noun in the demonstrative clause): *not even Ariovistus himself hoped that our armies could be taken in by a stratagem which there had been room for against unskilled barbarians*.

9. **qui . . . conferrent**, [as to those] *who laid their own cowardice to the pretence about provisions*, &c. — **desperare**, etc., *to be discouraged about the commander's doing his duty*. — **præscribere**, *sc. officium*.

10. *subministrare, were [now] furnishing.*

11. *quod . . . dicantur* (see § 70, 2, *a*; G. 528): *as to its being said that they would not, &c. — nihil, noway.* — *quibuscumque*, dat. after *audiens dicto*: i. e. no one has ever had a mutinous army, who has not either been unsuccessful by his own fault, or been convicted of avarice by some overt act. — *suam*, *his own*, emphatic by position; equivalent to *in his case*. — *innocentiam*: the technical word, meaning freedom from the charge of plunder and extortion. In fact, Cæsar's fault lay just the other way, a lavish and reckless generosity. (In this sentence, in chiasitic order, *innocentiam* is opposed to *avaritiam*, and *felicitatem* to *male gesta*, a peculiarly Latin turn.)

26. 12. *quod . . . fuisset, what he had intended to defer; repræsentaturum, he will do at once.* — *prætoriam cohortem* = *body-guard*, the correct use of the term: compare note, ch. 39<sup>2</sup>.

This celebrated speech of Cæsar to his men, though in what seems to us the awkward and cold form of indirect discourse, is an admirable model of military eloquence, and deserves attentive study.

41. *innata est, sprang up.* — *optimum iudicium fecisset, had expressed the most favorable opinion* (a technical phrase).

2. *cum tribunis . . . egerunt, etc., urged upon the tribunes to apologize.* — *summa belli* = *the policy of the campaign.* — *suum, imperatoris*, predicate after *esse* (§ 50, 1, *c*; G. 365).

3. *satisfactione, apology* (compare *satisfacerent*, above). — *ei, in him.* — *millum [passuum] limits circuitu, by a circuit of more than fifty miles.* — *locis apertis, through the open country*, so as to avoid a return of the panic.

4. *a nostris, from ours* (i. e. forces).

42. *per se, so far as he was concerned* (the regular expression with *licet*).

2. *petenti [Cæsari], when he asked it.* — *fore uti desisteret* (periphrastic future following *spem*), *that he would cease from his stubbornness.*

27. 3. *ultra citroque, hither and yon* (lit. *beyond and this side*). — *alia ratione, on any other terms.* — *veniret* for *veniat* (hortatory) of direct discourse.

4. *interpositā causā* (abl. abs.), *by putting in an excuse.* (Notice that *excuse* has the same root as *causa*.) — *Gallorum equitatu*: he had no other, see note, ch. 23<sup>2</sup>. — *equitibus*, dative following *delectis* (§ 51, 2, *e*; G. 346). — *eo, upon them* (= *his*, § 48, 5<sup>2</sup>). — *si quid, etc., if there should be need of any active measures*: *quid* is adverbial acc. (§ 52, 3; G. 331, R<sup>2</sup>); *facto*, § 54, 1, *d*; G. 390.

5. *quod cum fieret, while this was taking place.* — *ad equum rescribere, he enrolled them among the knights.* The *equites* were not only the cavalry-service in war, but a special privileged class in Roman politics.

43. *satis grandis, pretty large.* — *tumulus terrenus = a smooth* (i. e. not rocky) *hill.*

2. *equis, on horseback.* — *passibus ducentis = 320 yards.* — *denos, ten on each side.*

3. *beneficia, favors.* — *munera*: according to Livy (xxx. 15), the gifts sent to Masinissa were "a golden crown and bowl, a curule chair, an ivory staff, an embroidered toga, and a tunic with palm-leaf figures" (worn in triumphal processions). — *pro . . . tribui, was usually granted only in return for special services.*

*docebat, reminded.* — *aditum, way of intercourse.* — *ea præmia consecutum, had attained these prizes,* as if he had eagerly sought them (compare introductory note to ch. 30). The tone of Cæsar's speech shows his intention of affronting the pride of Ariovistus.

4. *necessitudinis, alliance.* The word means, strictly, any close bond of a moral nature, such as kindred, family connection, guest-friendship, or personal intimacy (see note to Cicero, Verres I. § 11). — *ipsis, the Romans.* — *intercederent, came in.* — *senatus consulta, properly, executive orders of the Senate, which had no authority to pass laws.* — *ut, how.*

28. 5. *sui nihil, nothing of their own* (dignity, &c.). — *quod . . . adtulissent, what they had brought* [as their contribution] *to the alliance.*

6. *postulavit eadem = he made the same demands.* — *at, at least.*

44. *rogatum et arcessitum = at the request and summons.*

2. *sibi, on him* (referring to the main subject).

3. *pace uti, enjoy peace.* — *sua voluntate, by their own consent.* — *oportere, impersonal*: its subject is *amicitiâ . . . esse.* — *id* (neut.), *this result*: not the friendship (*amicitiâ*), which was their own voluntary offer.

4. *si . . . remittatur, future cond.* (§ 67, 1, c; G. 659): the pres. for imperf. for greater vividness. — *per, through the means of.* — *subtrahantur, are got away* (by underhand means). — *non minus libenter, with no less pleasure.*

5. *quod . . . traducat, as for his bringing over* (the *quod* clause of fact, made subj. by indir. disc.). — *defenderit, warded off.*

29. 7. *hanc Galliam, this part of Gaul.* — *ut . . . sic, as . . . so.* — *quod = in that.*

8. *imperitum rerum, ignorant of affairs.* — *bello proximo, i. e. B. C. 62.*

9. *debere se suspicari, etc., he had ground to suspect, that Cæsar, in keeping an army in Gaul, kept it with pretence of friendship, [but really] to ruin him.*

10. *nobilibus gratum, a favor to the nobles.* Cæsar was the recognized head of the party opposed to the Senate and nobility. Many of the aristocracy would be glad of any safe way to be rid of him. See Cic. Fam. viii. 1, for the way rumors of disaster to Cæsar were spread among his enemies in Rome. — *id compertum habere, had ascertained* (§ 72, 3, b; G. 230).

45. *in eam sententiam quare = to this effect [to show] that. — negotio, enterprise. — neque se judicare, and he did not consider.*

2. *bello superato, B.C. 121, when the Allobroges were subdued, and the Province (probably) organized. — ignovisset, had pardoned: in fact, they lay beyond the naturally strong frontier of the Cevennes.*

3. *antiquissimum quodque* (see § 17, 5, c) = *as far back as you can go, i. e. to those victories of Fabius.*

**30.** 46. *conicere = conicere: see § 1, 3, d.*

3. *periculo legionis, danger to the legion. — committendum non ut dici possit = no ground should be given for saying* (cf. § 70, 4, e; G. 557). — *per fidem, through [misplaced] trust.*

4. *elatum est, it was reported. — qua adrogantia usus, with what display of insolence. — omnia Gallia* (abl. of separation, with *interdixisset*, § 54, 1; G. 383), *had ordered the Romans* (dat. following *inter-*), *away from all Gaul. — ut, how* (indir. question).

47. *uti constitueret, following velle* (§ 70, 3, b; G. 532). — *si minus, if not.*

2. *retineri quin, be kept from* (§ 65, 1, b; G. 550). — *poterant = potuerant. — legatum e suis = one of his own officers. — magno . . . missurum, it would be at great risk that, &c.*

3. *Flacco, governor of Gaul B.C. 83. It was customary for slaves or aliens to become clients of the person from whom they received freedom or citizenship; and to take his gentile name* (§ 15, 1<sup>9</sup>). Thus here Procillus takes the name (C. Valerius) of his patron Flaccus, retaining his own as *cognomen*. — *civitate donatus erat*, § 51, 1, c; G. 348. — *quā multā . . . utebatur, which Ariovistus spoke freely. — peccandi causa, ground of offence.*

**31.** 48. *a Cæsaris castris.* This camp is placed by Napoleon III. at the southern foot of the *Vosges* mountains, a few miles N. W. of Mühlhausen, just at the point where there is a break between the *Vosges* and the spurs of the *Jura*, opening from the valley of the *Saône* into that of the *Rhine*. The reversed march of *Ariovistus* placed him just in this passage, so as to cut off Cæsar's

supplies. This pass is now commanded by the famous fortress of Belfort.

3. *hoc*, pointing to the description which follows.

4. *singuli* [equites] *singulos* [pedites], *one apiece*. — *versabantur*, acted.

5. *si quo . . . prodeundum*, if there was occasion, &c., (*quo* = to any place). — *exeritatione*, through training. — *sublevati*, supporting themselves. — *cursum adæquarent*, keep pace with them.

49. *castris* (loc. abl.), in camp. — *acie triplici*, see ch. 24<sup>2</sup>.

2. *castra munire*, to fortify the camp. Whenever the Roman halted, even for a single night, a regular camp was laid out, measured with great precision by certain fixed rules (based on the science of augury), and thoroughly fortified with earth-wall, ditch, and palisades. The spade was as familiar to the Roman soldier as the sword or javelin. The camp was regularly a quadrangle, its size proportioned to the number of the troops. In this case, Cæsar had one larger camp about two miles to the east of the Germans, and a smaller one rather more than half a mile to the west of them. Thus Ariovistus could not retreat either way, without passing the Roman entrenchments.

**32.** 50. *instituto suo*, according to his plan. — *potestatem*, opportunity.

3. *inlatis et acceptis*, after giving and receiving.

4. *matres familiæ*: according to Tacitus (Ger. 8), it was not matrons only, but women as a class, to whom this prophetic power was ascribed. — *sortibus*, lots of leaves or twigs marked with certain signs; *vaticinationibus*, tokens interpreted from the noise of waters, river-eddies, &c. — *ex usu*, expedient. — *utrum . . . necne*, § 71, 2; G. 460. — *non esse fas*, it was not the divine will. — *novam lunam* (cf. Tac. G. 11): so the Spartans refused to advance to Marathon before the full moon.

51. *alarios*: the auxiliaries as distinguished from the legionary (Roman) troops. — *quod minus valebat*, because he was weak in comparison with the enemy. — *ad speciem*, to make a show, as if the two legions were still there, while in fact they had joined the other force at the greater camp. — *acie*, of legionaries alone.

2. *generatim*, by tribes or clans. — *Marcomannos*, this term is explained as "men of the Mark," or military frontier.

3. *eo*, hither, i. e. among the carts and wagons. — *proficiscentes*, [the men] as they advanced (obj. of *implorabant*).

**33.** 52. *singulos legatos*, a *legatus* in command of each legion. This was the beginning of a very important reform in the military organization. Cæsar felt so keenly the evil of the command

being divided among six tribunes, that he detailed one of his aids (*legati*) nominally to assist the tribunes. After this time, we find the *legatus* as the regular commander of a legion, with the six tribunes under him. On this occasion he appointed an adjutant (*quæstor*) to that one of the six legions which was intended to be under his own special command.

2. *ita . . . ut, so . . . that.* — *spatium*, room, i. e. time. — *rejecit*, throwing aside.

3. *in phalangas* (acc. plur. § 11, iii. 6, f), *against the phalanxes*. These were compact bodies of 300 to 400 men each, with shields close locked in front. — *revellerent*, etc., i. e. instead of pushing from beneath, they grasped the enemies' shields at the upper edge, and so struck down from above (*desuper*).

4. *a sinistro cornu*, on their left wing.

5. *P. Crassus*, son of Marcus Crassus the triumvir. — *expeditior*, more disengaged. — *versabantur*, were engaged.

53. *restitutum est*, contrasted with *laborantibus*, above. — *Rhenum*: the nearest point was a little below Basel, about fifty miles distant.

2. *tranare contenderunt* = *by great effort swam across*. — *reliquos omnes*, said to be 80,000.

3. *duæ uxores*: only chiefs among the Germans, says Tacitus (G. 18), had more than one wife; and this was for the sake of honor and alliances. — *Sueva*, see iv. 1. — *utræque perierunt*: for Cæsar's massacres of women and children, compare iv. 14, vii. 28. — *in Cæsarem incidit*, happened on Cæsar himself.

4. *Procillus*, see § 47, 3. — *trinis catenis*, three [sets of] manacles.

34. 5. *neque . . . deminuerat*, nor had Fortune, by any harm to him, &c.

6. *se præsentē*, in his own presence. — *ter*: it was the regular usage of the Germans to consult the lot thrice (Tac. G. 10). This has come down to the present day in sundry games, &c.

54. *Ubi* (some older editions have *ubi*): these lived near the modern Cologne, and were deadly enemies of the Suevi (see iv. 3).

2. *maturius*, earlier, the decisive battle with Ariovistus was fought about the 10th of September. — *in citeriorem Galliam*, south of the Alps. *conventus*: the proconsular Courts held for the administration of justice.



## BOOK SECOND.

THE BELGIAN CONFEDERACY. — The people of Northern Gaul, including Flanders and the Netherlands, were far remote from any country hitherto occupied by the Roman arms. They lived amid forests and swamps hard to penetrate; they claimed kindred with the German tribes rather than the more fickle and effeminate Celts; and they had a fierce and resolute spirit of independence, like that which the Dutch exhibited long after in the same regions, against the armies of Spain.\* The Belgian tribes, and particularly the Nervii, appear in this confederation to have offered to Cæsar a more formidable and desperate resistance than any he met elsewhere, until the great rising of B. C. 52; and when their spirit was once broken, the conquest of Gaul was simply a question of time.

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**35.** *in hibernis*: it is doubtful whether this expression can be used except of an army or a campaign. — *crebri* = *thick-coming*. — *adferebantur, fiebat* (observe the imperfect of repeated action) = *kept coming in; was informed from time to time*. — *conjurare, uniting under oath*: "any war against Rome is a 'conspiracy;' a nation enslaved by Rome is 'pacified.'"

2. *vererentur*, subj. as following *esse* (§ 66, 2; G. 666). — *Gallia*, i. e. Celtic Gaul. — *exercitus noster*, i. e. in the way of regular garrisons on their frontier. — *partim qui*, etc., the three classes were, first, those jealous of the Roman power; second, the restless, who dreaded a strong settled rule; third, those who held a sort of despotic authority as chiefs.

*ut . . . ita, while . . . at the same time*. — *inveterascere, get a foothold*; lit. "grow old." — *moleste ferebant, were impatient*.

3. *novis imperiis* (dat. § 51, 2, b; G. 345) *studebant, wanted rotation in authority*. — *nonnullis*, i. e. the chiefs of clans.

**36.** *vulgo regna occupabantur, royal power was constantly usurped*, by "coups d'état" on a small scale. — *imperio nostro* (loc. abl.), *under our dominion*.

2. *duas legiones*, making eight in all, amounting perhaps to 60,000 men, including auxiliaries. The proconsul seems to have had absolute authority to raise these levies.

2. *pabuli copia, a supply of food*, so that his army could move. — *dat negotium, gives it in charge*. — *Senonibus*: they were north of the Ædui, on the upper course of the Seine. Their name is preserved in the city of Sens. — *ut cognoscant, to learn*.

\* A very striking account of the country and its inhabitants will be found in the introduction to Motley's Dutch Republic.

3. *constanter, consistently, i. e. their accounts all agreed. — cogi, were gathering; conduci, were massing.*

4. *non dubitandum quin, there should be no hesitation about.* With *dubitare* in this meaning the infinitive is the ordinary construction.

3. *de improvviso, unexpectedly. — omni opinione* (§ 54, 5, b; G. 399, R<sup>1</sup>), *than any one could think. — Remi*, north of the river Marne, the territory near Rheims, in Champagne. They were friendly to the Romans, whose victory over Ariovistus had made them the second power in Gaul (see vi. 12). — *ex Belgia, of the Belgæ* (for *Belgarum*: § 50, 2, R; G. 371, R<sup>1</sup>).

2. *oppidis* (loc. abl.) *recipere, receive them* (the Romans) *in their fortified places.*

3. *Suessiones* (obj. of *detertere*), west of the Remi: the territory about the modern *Soissons*.

*ut ne . . . potuerint* (= *possent*, § 58, 10, c, R; G. 513), *that they* (the Remi) *could not even dissuade, &c. — qui utantur, although enjoying the same rights and laws* (§ 65, 2, e; G. 637, under which construction it would also be subj. in direct disc.).

*unum imperium, i. e. a confederacy, which did not, however, prevent the secession of the Suessiones along with the other Belgæ. — quin consentirent, from uniting with them.*

4. *reperiebat* (imperf.), *found, by repeated inquiry.*

2. *plerosque, a great many of:* see the end of the chapter, and compare, with respect to the Nervii, Tac. G. 28. They were apparently, however, of Celtic blood; though they considered the German a more proud and heroic descent.

37. *propter fertilitatem: construe with consedissee. — fieri, i. e. it was coming to be the case.*

3. *omnia explorata = full information. — propinquitatibus, blood-relationships; adfinitatibus, alliances by marriage.*

4. *Bellovacos, near Beauvais. — plurimum valere, have most power. — suos, i. e. of the Remi.*

5. *regem: showing that the overthrow of royal power* (see i. 2) *had not yet taken place among the Belgians. — cum . . . tum, not only . . . but also. — belli summam = conduct of the war.*

6. *Nervios, to the north of the Suessiones; Atrebatas, near Arras; Ambianos, near Amiens; Caletos, near Calais; Veromanduos, in Vermandois; Condrusos, at Condruz; Germani, considered here (by Zeuss) to be a Celtic name meaning "hill-people."*

5. *liberaliter prosecutis, making liberal promises. — diligenter, promptly.*

38. 2. *quanto opere* (often written *quantopere*) . . . *intersit, how greatly it concerns both the republic (Rome) and their common*

*interest* (§ 50, 4, *d*; G. 381).—*ne configendum sit, lest they should have to contend.*

3. *Bellovacorum*, as lying farthest west, and most remote from Cæsar's field of operations, so as to divide the enemy (cf. ch. 10<sup>4</sup>).—*introduxerint*, perf. subj. (for fut. perf.), as following *docet*.

4. *ad se venire*, *were coming straight towards him*.—*postquam ab iis . . . cognovit*, *when he learned from those whom, &c.*—*Axonam*, the *Aisne*, here flowing nearly due west, and joining the Seine below Paris, through the Oise.—*in extremis finibus*, generally, *in the remotest part*; Bibrax, a town of the Remi, lying eight miles beyond. While here, Cæsar's camp was protected by this river in the rear, and in front by a small marshy stream.—*castra*, the traces of Cæsar's works at this place were discovered in 1862, on a low hill called *Mauchamp*.

6. *duodeviginti pedum*, 18 feet (in width).

6. *ægre sustentatum est*—*they hardly held their own*.

2. *oppugnatio*, *style of attack*.—*circumjecta . . . mœnibus* (dat.), *having thrown a multitude of men about the walls*.—*cœpti sunt*, see § 38, 1, *a*; G. 424, R<sup>1</sup>.

*testudine facta*, *making a tortoise*: a military term for a formation in which the men, standing in a compact mass, held their shields above their heads, lapping over each other so as to form a continuous roof, the edges of the shields appearing like the scales of a tortoise-shell.

3. *tum*, *in this instance*.

4. *finem . . . fecisset*, *had put an end to the assault*.

7. *isdem ducibus usus*, *employing the same men as guides*.

39. *Numidas* (from Algiers), *Cretas*: both these, especially the Cretans, were famous bowmen.—*Baleares*, from the small islands east of Spain: they were celebrated slingers.—*subsidio oppidanis* (§ 51, 5; G. 350), dat. of service and of indir. object.—*potiundi oppidi*, § 73, 2, R; G. 428, R<sup>2</sup>.

2. *morati*, *depopulati*, *having delayed, having laid waste*: observe that Latin can employ a *perfect active participle* only (as here) of deponent verbs. The corresponding construction has to be continued in the abl. absolute, with *incendo*: *viciis incensis*, *having set fire to, &c.*—*omnibus copiis* (abl. of accompaniment, see § 54, 6, *a*; G. 391, R<sup>1</sup>), *with all their troops*.—*ab . . . duobus*, *less than two miles off*: *ab* is used here adverbially (§ 56, 2, *d*; G. 416, R).—*amplius*: this may be acc. of extent (§ 55, 2; G. 335); or *millibus* may be abl. of distance, and *amplius* construed as in § 54, 5, *c*; G. 311, R<sup>4</sup>.

8. *eximiam opinionem*, *the eminent reputation* had of their valor.—*prœlio supersedere*, *to defer the engagement* (lit. to sit

*above it, as in judgment).*—*periclitabatur, experimented*: this gives the original meaning of *periculum, risk*.

2. *loco, dat. after obduxit, along a place, &c.*—*loei* (construct with *tantum*), *spread over as much ground as, &c.*—*lateris dejectus* = *a lateral slope.*—*in frontem, etc., rising abruptly in front, slopes gently to the plain in the rear (re-).*

3. *transversam, at right angles* to his front, probably running back to the river, as well as extending somewhat towards the enemy, at which end he placed the redoubts (*castella*). The remains of the works (note, ch. 5<sup>4</sup>) do not, however, agree fully with Cæsar's description: probably some parts of the works have been effaced.

*tormenta, engines, worked with levers and pulleys, a sort of clumsy siege-artillery.* They were of two classes: *catapultæ*, which shot nearly level, generally arrows and darts; and *ballistæ*, which shot at a high angle, generally stones and beams.

4. *si . . . esset, if there should be need of any thing* = *any need.*

9. *palus, a wet meadow* (before referred to), traversed by the little stream *Miette.*—*si . . . expectabant, waited* [to see] *whether.*—*si . . . fieret, in case they should begin the passage.*

40. 2. *proelio equestri, a cavalry-skirmish*, which proved more favorable to the Roman side (*secundiore nostris*).—*post, behind.*

3. *castellum, the fortified camp* ("*tête de pont*") held by Sabinus, ch. 5<sup>4</sup>.—*interscinderent, cut away* (between).—*si minus potuissent, if they should not succeed.*

10. Cæsar: words thus italicized are wanting or obliterated in the ms.—*Numidas, etc.*: these light-armed troops were trained runners, and so "got round by the bridge to the ford in time to stop the passage of the Belgians." Moberly thinks they must have been taken up *en croupe* behind the horsemen.

2. *adgressi, at the stream below, probably, at the left of Cæsar's camp.*

3. *nostros, subj. of progredi* depending on *viderunt*: *and saw that our men were not* [disposed to] *advance to worse ground to fight them.*—*domum . . . reverti*: thus the confederacy dissolves suddenly into a mere defensive alliance, and the Nervii, &c., are cut to pieces in detail.—*convenirent, etc.*: understand *ut* after *constituerunt* (§ 70, 3, f, R; G. 546, R<sup>3</sup>).—*eos, antecedent of quorum, above.*

4. *Divitiacum . . . adpropinquare, see ch. 5<sup>3</sup>.*—*neque . . . ferrent* = *and so fail to carry relief to their own people.*

41. 11. *nullo certo ordine, in no regular order of march.* "Imagine a *débacle* of 236,000 men, besides camp-followers, women, &c."—*fecerunt ut*: § 70, 4, e; G. 557.

2. *nondum perspexerat* = *he could not yet see clearly*, the object being *qua . . . discederent*.

4. *cum . . . consistentes*, *while those in the rear whom they overtook stood firm*. — *priores* (understand *et*), *and those in advance*.

5. *tantam . . . spatium* = *killed as many of them as the time allowed* ("as the day was long").

12. *Noviodunum*, the modern *Soissons*, about 20 miles west of *Bibrax*. Its modern name is given from the tribe whose capital it was: *civitas Suessionum*.

2. *ex itinere*, i. e. *without delaying his march*. — *paucis defendentibus* (concessive), *though there were few defenders*.

3. *vineas*, *sheds* ("mantelets"), light galleries of timber which could be pushed up close to the enemy's works. They were named from the arbors or trellised galleries of vineyards.

4. *aggere*, *mound* or *embankment*, sloping upward to the height of the wall to be attacked, for training the siege artillery (ch. 8<sup>3</sup>). — *turribus*, light movable towers, to be occupied by archers, &c., to clear the walls of defenders.

42. 13. *obsidibus acceptis*, *taking as hostages*, &c. — *Bellovacos*: their territory lay about 40 or 50 miles due north of Paris.

2. *Bratuspantium*, *Breteil*, at the head of the Somme valley. — *circiter*, etc., [only] *about five miles*, &c. — *in ejus fidem venire* (dep. on *significare*), *that they committed themselves to his good faith*, i. e. "surrender at discretion."

3. *cum accessisset*, *poneret*, *had arrived*, *was fixing*.

14. *facit verba*, *acts as spokesman*.

2. *perferre*, *were suffering*: its subj. is *Hæduos*. In fact, the *Ædui* "had paid for the regaining of their ancient power by the Roman alliance, by the loss of their civil liberty; and were nearly in the position of a protected sovereign state in India, with Labienus for a vigorous military resident" (Moberly). — *defecisse*, *had withdrawn*: its subj. is *Bellovacos*.

3. *qui . . . fuissent* = *all the movers of this policy*.

4. *sua clementia*, *his own* [characteristic or well-known] *clemency*.

5. *si fecerit*, perf. subj. for fut. perf. of dir. disc., following the present *facit*. — *quorum . . . consuerint*, *by whose aid and resources they are accustomed to sustain whatever wars befall them*.

15. *quod*, etc., giving the reason of *poposcit*. — *magna auctoritate*, *of great influence*: the genitive is more common. — *præstabat*, *was at the head*.

43. 2. *Ambianorum*, about *Amiens*, near the coast of the Channel.

3. *pati, they suffer* (§ 67, 1, *a*<sup>2</sup>; G. 527, *R*<sup>2</sup>). — *eorum*: this word is doubtful here; probably a note written in the margin by some editor: better as a general truth, *animos, temper.* — *remitti, relaxed.*

4. *projecissent, had abandoned.* — *confirmare, they declared positively that they would not, &c.*

16. *Sabim, the Sambre*, which flows northeasterly into the *Meuse* (Mosa). The Nervii occupied the basin of this river and of the upper Scheldt.

2. *Atrebatibus, etc.*, small tribes to the south and west.

3. *Aduatucorum*, Germans, living farther to the east. — *quique = eosque qui*, following *conjecisse.* — *in eum locum quo, into a place whither, &c.*

17. *ex . . . Gallia*, for part. genitive (§ 50, 2, *e*, *R*<sup>1</sup>; G. 371, *R*<sup>2</sup>) following *complures, many of the Belgians, &c.* — *una, along with him.* — *eorum dierum: observing our army's custom of march in these days* (§ 50, 2, *R*<sup>4</sup>).

2. *demonstrarunt, made known.* — *inter singulas legiones = between every two legions.* — *impedimentorum magnum numerum = a very long baggage-train.* — *intercedere, intervened.* — *neque . . . negotii, and there would be no difficulty.* — *hanc, i. e. the first legion.* — *consistere, make a stand.*

3. *adjuvabat: the subj. is quod Nervii . . . effecerant, etc., the advice of those who reported the matter was reinforced by the fact that, &c.*

44. *antiquitus, of old: the hedges, described below, were an immemorial custom, and are still, it is said, common in this region. Traces of such still exist in England, about 400 years old.* — *neque student, pay no attention.* — *quicquid possunt, etc. = all the strength they have is in infantry.*

4. *quo facilius impedirent, in order to check more easily.* — *teneris arboribus, etc., having notched and bent down young trees, and allowed their boughs to grow out thick breadthwise, and by throwing in brambles and thorns, they had made these hedges to furnish defences like a wall, which not only could not be broken into, but could not even be seen through.* — *consilium, i. e. the plan of attacking the first legion.*

18. *æqualiter declivis, with uniform slope.*

2. *adversus hunc, in front of ours.* — *passus . . . apertus, open at the foot for about 200 paces.*

3. *secundum flumen, down stream.* — *stationes equitum, cavalry pickets.*

19. *agmen, line of march (ago).* — *aliter . . . ac, otherwise [than] as* (§ 44, 3, *a*<sup>2</sup>).

2. **hostis**, acc. plur. (§ 11, i. 3, c; G. 60, 1): this form is constantly found in earlier writers, but is rare in most editions of Cæsar. — **expeditas**, *unincumbered* (i. e. without baggage). — **conlocarat**, *had put in its place*: this word is often confounded with **conlegere**, *collect*. — **proxime conscriptæ**, *the last levies*; while the veterans, as usual, must bear the brunt of the fight.

4. **neque . . . auderent**, *and our men did not venture to follow their retreat (cedentes) farther than the limit to which the level and open ground (porrecta loca aperta) extended*. — **opere dimenso**, *having staked out the works*.

45. 5. **convenerat**, *had been agreed on* (compare Eng. *conventional*). — **ut . . . confirmaverant**, *just as they had formed their line, &c., they dashed forward* (**provolaverunt**): i. e. in the same order they held already. — **omnibus copiis**, *in full force* (abl. of accompaniment).

6. **in flumine**: the Sambre is nowhere more than three feet deep at this point. — **in manibus nostris**, i. e. within reach of our weapons. — **adverso colle contenderunt**, *pushed straight up hill*. — **occupati** (this participle is only used as an adjective), *were still at work*.

20. **vexillum**, *flag*. The signal for battle was first given by a flag, or pennon, displayed from the general's tent; the sounding of the *tuba* then followed, as an order to form ranks; last came the *signum*, or order to engage.

The *vexillum*, in its ordinary use, was a small red cavalry-flag, hung from a cross-piece on the flagstaff; often used, also, by detached bodies of troops. The *signum*, or standard, was of metal, and belonged regularly to the legion and its divisions (21<sup>4</sup>).

**paulo longius**, *to a considerable distance* (§ 17, 5, a). — **aggeris**, i. e. *earth* for the entrenchments. — **cohortandi**, *must be encouraged*, see § 35, 1, b. — **successus**, *close approach*.

2. **usus**, *experience*. — **quid . . . oporteret**, indir. quest., object of **præscribere**. — **legatos**, those whom he had assigned to the several legions (see note, i. 52<sup>1</sup>).

3. **nihil expectabant**, *could no longer wait*: **nihil** (properly adv. acc.) is stronger than **non**. — **quæ videbantur** = *what seemed best*.

21. **quam in partem**, *to whatever division* (sc. *in eam partem*). — **decumam**, see i. 41.

2. **non longiore . . . quam** = *with only so many words as, &c.* — **neu = neve**: the *ne* being correlative to *ut*, above. — **quod posset**, gives the reason for **signum dedit**: for the subj. in **posset**, see § 65, 2, c; G. 313.

46. 3. **pugnantibus occurrit**, *finds them already fighting*. — **insignia**, the ornaments of the helmet, &c. — **tegimenta**, *leather*

*covers.* — *defuerit*, notice the sequence of tenses (§ 58, 10, *c*, R; G. 513).

4. *signa*, either of the legion (an eagle) or of the maniples (a hand). What was the standard of the cohort is not known. — *hæc*, antecedent to both *quam* and *quæ* (§ 47, 2, *a*; G. 281, E<sup>2</sup>).

*constitit*: the Roman soldier was so thoroughly drilled, that to whatever part of the legion he found his way, he knew perfectly well the duties belonging to it.

22. *dejectus*, the fall. — *rei . . . ordo*, the rule and method of the military art. — *diversis legionibus* (abl. abs.), the legions facing various ways, each fighting the enemy that was nearest. — *certa subsidia*, regular reserves. — *quid . . . opus esset* (§ 54, 1, *d*, R; G. 390; subj. of *provideri*, depending on *poterat* understood), it could not be seen at a distance what was wanting anywhere. — *administrari*, attended to. — *tanta iniquitate*, so unfavorable condition.

23. *exanimatos*, out of breath, agreeing with *Atrebatibus*, obj. of *compulerunt*. — *ex loco superiore* = standing as they were on higher ground.

2. *et . . . progressi*, i. e. though they had advanced upon unfavorable ground.

3. *diversæ*, i. e. which had advanced in different directions. — *ex loco superiore* = having gone down from the higher ground.

4. *nudatis*, exposed by the advance of these four legions. — *quom* (see note, i. 1<sup>3</sup>) *constitisset*, subordinate to the preceding abl. absolute, *nudatis castris*.

47. *aperto latere*, on the uncovered flank. — *castrorum*, not a partitive but a possessive genitive: the height upon which the camp stood.

24. *cum reciperent*, while gathering back. — *adversis hostibus*, plump on the enemy, who had entered on the other side. — *occurrerant . . . ferebantur*: these imperfects belong to the side-action (§ 58, 3, *a*; G. 222) interrupting the main narrative, which is resumed in the perfects *contenderunt*, etc., at the end of the chapter.

2. *decumana porta*: the camp had four gates, the *prætoria* in front (towards the enemy), *decumana* in the rear, *principalis dextra* on the right and *sinistra* on the left (facing the *prætoria*).

4. *Treviri*, from the valley of the *Moselle*: their capital city was the present Treves. They claimed German origin. — *opinio*, reputation. — *auxilli causâ*, as auxiliaries. — *desperatis . . . contenderunt*, losing hope in our fortunes, pushed for home. — *Romanos*, obj. of *renuntiaverunt*; *castris*, obj. of *potitos*, had got possession of.



25. *Cæsar*, subj. of *processit* (p. 48): this sentence is a fine example of the force of a Latin period, holding the main act in suspense till all the circumstances bearing on it have been brought into a single view (see § 76, 4). — *signisque conlatis* (causative), *and since*, &c.

2. *quartæ cohortis*: this stood on the left of the front line, and so bore the brunt of the attack (see i. 24<sup>3</sup>). Each cohort had three maniples. — *primipilo*: the *primus pilus* was the first centurion of the first cohort, and thus stood on the extreme right of the line.

3. *tardiores*, *rather slack* (discouraged). — *hostis*, acc. plur. — *neque*, correl. to *et* (p. 48).

48. *in angusto*, *in a strait*. — *vidit*, repeated from line 4 of this chapter, on account of the length of the sentence and the number of particulars.

4. *ab novissimis*, *in the rear*. — *signa inferre*, *to charge*. — *laxare*, *open out*. — *militi*, dative after *detracto*, the almost universal construction of *persons* from whom any thing is taken.

5. *operam navare*, *to do his best*.

26. *urgeri*, *hard pushed*. — *conversa signa*, etc. — *then wheel about and charge*.

2. *neque timerent*, *and no longer feared*. — *aversi*, *in the rear*, i. e. while their backs were turned.

3. *cursu incitato*, *setting out on a run*.

4. *nihil reliqui fecerunt*, *left nothing undone in the way of speed*.

27. *inermes armatis*, *unarmed threw themselves on the armed enemy*. — *quo* (§ 64, 1, a; G. 545, 2, with the implied comparative) *præferrent*, *that they might show themselves superior*.

49. 3. *ut . . . conicerent*: the natural order of the sentence would be (following *tantam virtutem*), *and that when these too were struck down, and corpses were piled in heaps, those who survived still hurled weapons*, &c. — *ut . . . deberet*, *so that it must be judged that not without good hope of success* (*nequiquam*), &c. The subj. of *deberet* is *homines . . . ausos esse*, etc. — *animi*, *spirit*.

28. *prope ad internecionem*: this destruction of a brave people was not so complete as their despair here represents. The Nervii were again in revolt three years later (v. 26), and two years after sent a force of 5000 men to Alesia (vii. 75). — *æstuaris*: the country lying to the north (the modern Zealand) is low and marshy, cut up with tidewater inlets and bays. — *impeditum*, *in the way* (lit. *hindered*).

2. *vix ad quingentos* = *ad vix quingentos*, *to barely 500*.

3. *miseriordia*, *mercy* (an abridged form of the same word). It

has been observed that Cæsar's dealings with the Gauls were comparatively merciful at first: at least, after enormous massacre, the remnant had something to hope for. But after he was twice repulsed from Britain, when Gaul made another effort for independence, his "gentleness" was shown by such acts as cutting off the hands of all his prisoners who had borne arms (viii. 44), and in the treatment of Vercingetorix, kept for years in chains, and then killed in cold blood in his conqueror's triumph.

29. *cum venirent, while on the way.* — in *unum oppidum*: not far from *Namur*, at the confluence of the Meuse and Sambre. [Napoleon III. thinks it the same with the citadel of *Namur*, which lies opposite the town between the rivers; but this appears far too small (see ch. 39), and so striking a position would hardly have been left unnoticed (see Motley's *Dutch Rep.* iii. 224). Others place it at *Falaise*, opposite Huy, on the Meuse below *Namur*.]

3. *Cimbris Teutonicisque*, see note, i. 7<sup>a</sup>.

50. *agere ac portare*: the cattle would be *driven*; the rest *carried*: *agere* and *ferre* are the usual words for plunder. — *sex milia*: this German military colony was probably adopted into the tribe of Aduatuci (whose name is Celtic, meaning *runners*), giving rise to the story that the whole tribe were of German descent.

4. *alias . . . alias, in one quarter . . . in another.* — *inferrent*, the regular word for offensive war. — *inlatum* [*sibi*] *defenderent, warded it off (de-fendo) when brought against them.* — *consensu eorum, by compact with them* (i. e. the *finitimi*).

30. *quindecim millium*: fifteen miles would be preposterous for so small a hill as that at *Namur*: hence Napoleon III. understands *pedum* instead of *passuum*. But this would be nearly 3 miles, while the works on his plan measure hardly more than one.

2. *vineis, sheds* to protect the works under construction (ch. 12<sup>a</sup>); *aggere*, the sloping *mound*, up which the tower was pushed and hauled on rollers; *turrim*, a movable *tower*, of several stories (*tabulata*), the upper part containing engines. Sometimes the towers were built in parts, and taken along as part of the regular siege-train. — *ab tanto spatio, so far off* (an adverbial phrase).

3. *quibusnam*: the enclitic *nam* (*num*) gives a sarcastic emphasis to the question: *by what hands, pray, or what strength, &c.* — *præ, in comparison with.* — *contemptui*, a curious example of the dat. of service (§ 51, 5, R; G. 350). — *oonlocare = conlocaturos esse*: some editions have *turrim moturos sese confiderent*.

31. 2. *existimare, sc. se*: *they thought that not without divine aid, &c.* — *se . . . permittere, they surrendered themselves, &c.*

3. *deprecari*, besought (i. e. to be spared : *de-precor*). — *pro*, in accordance with. — *quam audirent*, which they constantly heard of.

4. *inimicos*, i. e. their neighbors regarded them as interlopers. — *traditis armis*, if their weapons should be given up.

5. *præstare*, it was better. — *quamvis fortunam*, any fortune whatever (*quam vis*, what you will).

**51. 32.** *aries*, battering-ram, a long beam with an iron head (like a ram's), suspended from a framework and swung with great force against a wall, crumbling the strongest masonry.

2. *ne quam injuriam inferrent* (§ 21, 2, *d*), to inflict no harm. — *ad suos* : the message was carried to their people, not simply reported to them, which would require *suis*.

3. *summam altitudinem*, the full height.

**33.** *ante into*, previously agreed on. — *aut denique*, or at any rate.

2. *pellibus induxerant*, had covered with hide. (Apparently used like *dono*, etc., § 51, 1, *c*; G. 348 : the regular construction would be with the dat., *quibus pelles induxerant*.) — *qua [parte]*, where. — *repentino*, of a sudden.

3. *ita . . . ut*, they fought as fiercely as brave men must fight, &c. (observe the impersonal use of the passive, § 39. *c*; G. 344). — *in extrema spe* = for their last chance. — *in una virtute*, in mere bravery.

4. *sectionem*, auction-sale of confiscated property. The purchaser was called *sector*.

**52. 34.** *Venetos*, etc., the name of the Veneti is found in the modern *Vannes*, and of the Redones in *Rennes*. — *maritumæ civitates*, the modern Brittany: they are spoken of at length in Book III.

**35. 2.** *Illyrioum* : this province, east of the Adriatic, made part of Cæsar's government.

3. *Carnūtes*, between the Seine and the Loire, comprising *Orleans* : their name is found in the modern *Chartres*. — *Andes* (*Anjou*), near the lower Loire; *Turōnes*, the modern *Tours*. — *propinquæ*, apparently meaning near the Veneti, &c.

4. *supplicatio*, a public ceremonial of thanksgiving. Ten days was the longest that had ever been granted before, excepting to Pompey who was honored with twelve days for his victory over Mithridates. It should be remembered, however, that Cæsar's party was now all-powerful at Rome.

## BOOK THIRD.

ALPINE CAMPAIGN.—The higher valleys of the Alps were inhabited by tribes who got a scanty living by working in mines, and often waylaid and plundered expeditions on the march (see Strabo, iv. 6). The two legions sent by Cæsar under Q. Pedius (ii. 2) had been attacked by these predatory people while passing into the valley of the Rhone above the Lake (*Valais*). Hence this expedition, which was intended to strike terror into the mountain tribes.

**53.** *Nantuatis* (acc.), etc. These tribes occupied the valley of the Upper Rhone, above the Lake of Geneva.

2. *iter per Alpes*: the pass of the *Great St. Bernard*, which reaches the Rhone valley at *Martigny* (the ancient *Octodurus*), at the great bend of the river.—*magno cum periculo* = *but only with great danger*.—*magnis portoriis*, *heavy transit-duties*.

**54.** 4. *hic, ejus*, both referring to the same subject.

2. *montes*: not the higher ranges, but the lower heights directly upon the valley.

2. *id, this*, in appoꝛ. with *ut . . . caperent*—*opprimendæ*, *crushing*, the usual meaning of this word.—*neque eam plenissimam*, etc., and that not a very full one, since two cohorts had been detached, &c.—*singillatim*, in small parties.

3. *cum ipsi . . . decurrerent*, since they could charge down from the hills upon the valley.

4. *accedebat quod* = *and besides (it was added that)*. The subject of *accedebat* is the clause *quod . . . dolebant*, they were angry that their children were taken from them as hostages.—*Romanos . . . adjungere*, obj. of *habebant*, and in agreement with *persuasum*: they had persuaded themselves that the Romans were attempting, &c.

3. *perfectæ*, referring both to *opus* and *munitiones*, but agreeing with the nearest.—*satis esset provisum*, sufficient provision had been made.

**55.** *concilio*, a council of officers.

2. *præter opinionem* = *unexpectedly*.—*subsidio veniri* = *that any one should come to their aid*: *veniri* is impersonal, depending on *posset* implied in *possent*.

3. *nonnullæ sententiæ*, several opinions (or votes) given by the officers in council.

4. *majori . . . placuit*, it was determined by the majority.—*hoc . . . defendere*, to reserve this course for the extremity, and meanwhile, &c.

4. *his rebus . . . administrandis*, for settling and putting into effect what they had resolved on.

2. *integris viribus*, as long as their strength was whole. — *repugnare, mittere, occurrere, ferre, superari*, historical infinitives, implying incessant action. — *ut . . . videbatur*, as any part seemed, &c.: a relative clause, of which the antecedent is *eo*. — *alii* = while others.

3. *non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem*, not only not, but not even, &c.

5. *cum pugnaretur*, when the fight had been [and was still] going on (§ 58, 3, b; G. 225). — *languidioribus nostris* (dat. of reference), while our men were failing. — *deficerent*, began to fail. — *vallum* complete, the rampart was made for the most part of earth thrown up in digging the ditch; so that to tear down the one was at the same time to fill up the other.

**56. extremum auxilium** = a desperate resource.

3. *intermitterent*, hort. subj. following *certiores facit* in the sense of *instructs*. — *tela . . . excoiperent*, gather up the spent weapons.

6. *cognoscendi facultatem*, opportunity of finding out. — *sui colligendi*: observe that *sui* is plural in meaning, though agreeing with *colligendi* (§ 73, 3, a<sup>2</sup>; G. 429, R). It is, however, properly the gen. sing. of *suum* (§ 19, 3, c).

2. *circumventos interficiunt* = they surround and kill. — *ex millibus*, for part. gen. after *parte*.

3. *exutis*, stripped, agreeing with *copiis*: § 51, 1, c; G. 348.

4. *alio consilio . . . aliis rebus* = saw that he had met a different state of things from what he had in mind when he came: (lit. remembered that he had come with one design, and saw that he had met another state of things).

NAVAL CAMPAIGN. — The peninsula of Armorica (*Bretagne*, Brittany, or Little Britain, so called since the emigration from Great Britain to escape the Saxon invasion) has always been the home of the hardest, most independent, and most strongly characterized of all the Gallic populations. Its scenery is wild and secluded, the character of its coast is clearly given in Cæsar's narrative, and its language remains Celtic to this day. No one of Cæsar's campaigns shows more strikingly his boldness and fertility of resource than this.

7. *inita hieme*, in the beginning of winter ("winter being entered on").

2. *mare* following *proximus* as the superl. of *prope* (§ 56, 2, a; G. 356, R<sup>4</sup>).

3. *præfectos*, officers: a general term for those assigned (*præficio*) to any service or command.

**57. 8.** *hujus civitatis*, i.e. the Veneti, on the southern coast of Brittany, the modern *Morbihan*. — *longe amplissima*, *very great indeed*. — *consuerunt*, *are accustomed* (§ 58, 5, R; G. 227, R<sup>2</sup>). — *in magno . . . aperto*, *in the great and open violence of the sea* = *on a sea exposed to great and violent storms*. — *omnes habent vectigales*, *treat all as tributaries*, i. e. levy tolls upon.

2. *ab his fit initium*, etc., *they begin by detaining these*.

3. *ut sunt*, etc., *as in fact the resolutions of the Gauls are*, &c. — *eundem . . . laturos* = *they would bear in common the result of whatever fortune*.

4. *quam acceperant*, indic. as a clause of fact (§ 67, 1, b; G. 630, R<sup>1</sup>). — *quam perferre*, *than to endure*, following the comparative contained in *mallent*.

5. *remittat* (sc. *ut*), hort. subj. depending on the message implied in *legationem mittunt*.

9. *aberat longius*, *was too far off* to take command at once in person. — *naves longas*, *galleys*, propelled by a large number of oars. Ships of burden (*onerariæ*) were built broad, with a view to capacity. — *Ligere*, the Loire, where Crassus was wintering. — *institui*, *to be assigned* to the several galleys.

2. *in se admisissent*, *had taken on themselves*: *admitto* alone is the ordinary phrase for *commit*. — *legatos . . . conjectos* (the specific act), in appos. with *facinus*.

**58. 3.** *pedestria itinera*, etc., *travelling by land was cut off*. — *inscientiam*, i. e. the Romans' lack of acquaintance. — *neque . . . confidebant*, *and they trusted that our armies could not*, &c.

4. *ut . . . acciderent* (concessive, § 57, 5; G. 610), *granting that every thing should turn out contrary to their expectation*. — *plurimum posse*, *were strongest*. — *facultatem*, *supply*. — *longe aliam . . . atque*, *very different . . . from*. — *conclusio*, *enclosed* (like the Mediterranean).

5. *Osismos*, etc., the coast tribes as far as Flanders. The name *Lexovii* remains in *Lisieux*; *Namnetes* in *Nantes*; *Diablintes* in *Fablines*.

10. *injuriae retentorum equitum*, *the wrong done by detaining the knights* (§ 72, 3, a; G. 667, R<sup>2</sup>). — *rebellio*, *renewal of hostilities* (not *rebellion*). — *no . . . arbitrarentur*: a new rising was threatened by the Belgians, while the maritime tribes, it is said, were already fearful of an attempt upon Britain. (Observe that this clause is under the same construction as the nominatives *injuriae*, *defectio*, etc.)

2. *excitari*: the present infin. here corresponds to the imperfect of *description*, *excitabantur*: while *odisse* answers to *oderunt* taken as a present, *all men naturally hate*.

11. *mandat adeat, gives it in charge (manu dare) to advance upon* (§ 70, 3, f, R; G. 547, R<sup>2</sup>).

59. *arcessiti [esse] dicebantur, were reported to have been summoned.*

2. *Aquitaniā*, in S. W. Gaul (see i. 1<sup>b</sup>). The people were of different race and language from the other Gauls, and took little interest in their affairs, not even joining in the great revolt of Book vii. But Cæsar may not have known this (Moberly).

3. *Unellos, etc.*, in Normandy.

4. *Decimum Brutum*, afterwards one of the conspirators against Cæsar, under the more celebrated Marcus Brutus. — *Pictonibus, Santonis*, south of the Loire (*Poitou* and *Saintonge*).

12. *ejus modi . . . ut, of such sort that. — cum . . . incitavisset = at high tide. — æstus, tide*: properly the surging movement of boiling water; hence applied both to extreme heat and to ocean-tides. — *his*, apparently an error of most MSS. Some editors read xxiv. instead of xii.; others refer it to the general ignorance or carelessness of ancient writers. — *minuente, at the ebb*: intransitive, as if from the passive form used as a reflexive.

2. *utraq[ue] re, in either case. — superati, agreeing with the subj. of coeperunt. — his (aggere ac molibus) . . . adæquatis, when these were brought level with the walls.*

3. *hæc faciebant, this they continued to do. — eo facilius . . . quod, the more easily, that, &c. — vasto mari, etc.*, in each of these points contrasted with the sheltered and tideless waters of the Mediterranean.

13. *ipsorum, their own. — aliquanto planiores, considerably more flat-bottomed. — quo . . . possent, that they might more easily take the shallows and the ebb-tide.*

2. *admodum erectæ, quite elevated. — robore, oak timber.*

60. *contumeliā, buffeting. — transtra, etc., the decks of beams a foot in depth fastened with iron bolts the thickness of a [man's] thumb.*

3. *pelles, hides; alutæ, leather. — tanta onera navium, ships of so great burden. — non satis commode, not very well*: Cæsar does not like to say that any thing is impossible.

4. *nostræ classi, etc., the encounter of our fleet with, &c. — una, only. — præstaret, had the advantage* (i. e. our fleet). — *pro loci natura, considering the nature of the ground.*

5. *rostro, beak, a sharp projecting brazen point, to strike and disable the enemy's ship; copulis, grappling-irons, with which the ships were held so that they might be boarded. When this could be done, the superior skill of the Roman soldiers could always be depended on* (see ch. 14<sup>7</sup>).

6. *accede*bat ut—*and besides*, followed by *ferrent*, *consisterent*, and *timerent*, which in English would be in the direct construction.—*se vento dedissent*, *ran before the wind*, a nautical phrase: hence the noun is repeated. The clause *cum . . . dedissent* is parenthetical.—*consisterent*, *came to anchor*; *ab æstu relictæ*, etc., *if stranded by the ebb had nothing to fear*, &c.—*oasus*, *the chance of all these things*.

14. *neque . . . posse*, *that the enemy's retreat could not be prevented by capturing their towns, and that no damage could be done them*.

2. *paratissimæ*, *fully equipped*; *ornatissimæ*, *thoroughly furnished*. The battle was fought in the bay of *Quiberon*, Cæsar looking on from shore.—*neque Bruto constabat*, *and it was not clear to Brutus*.

3. *excitatis*, *built up*.—*ex barbaris navibus*, *on the part of the enemy's ships* (compare i. 2<sup>a</sup> note).

61. 4. *magno usui*, *of great service*, in fact turning disaster to victory: but Cæsar will not use words that hint a possible defeat.—*muralium falciū*, *wall-hooks*, long poles with sickle-shaped hooks attached (like those used by "hook-and-ladder" companies) used to pull down walls: it limits *formæ* (understood), dat. after *absimili*.

5. *prærumpebantur*, *they* (the halyards) *were torn away*: observe the position of *funes* in the relative clause.

7. *paulo fortius actum*, one of Cæsar's mild expressions for *an act of remarkable daring*.

15. *singulas*, etc., *two or three ships about each*.—*contendebant*, *made repeated efforts*: compare with *contenderunt* (2), describing a single act.

2. *expugnatis . . . navibus*, *when a good many of their ships had been boarded*.

3. *conversis . . . navibus*, i. e. steered so as to run before the wind.—*malacia*, *calm* (a Greek word).

4. *pervenerint*, *came to land*: *pervenirent* would be equally correct, and is found in some copies; but the perfect conveys more distinctly the *act of landing*.—*hora quarta*, about 10 A.M.

16. *cum . . . tum*, *while . . . at the same time*: imitating a very frequent Greek construction (μὲν . . . δέ).—*convenerant*, *coegerant*, i. e. for this war.—*quod ubique*, *all there was any-where*, followed by the partitive gen. *navium*.

2. *quo*, i. e. [any refuge] *whither*; *quem ad modum* (often written as one word), *how*.

62. 3. *eo . . . quo*, *with the intention that*.—*vindicandum*, *vengeance should be inflicted*.—*omni senatu necato*, an instance



of Cæsar's *clementia*. — *sub corona vendidit, sold [as slaves] at public auction*: lit. *under the wreath*, since the captives "were crowned like an animal for sacrifice."

"This can hardly mean that Cæsar sold the whole nation by auction. The mention of the Senate makes it probable that the inhabitants of the capital Dariorigum [*Vannes*] are meant. Even so the rigor is terrible; and the more so, as regards the senate, from the grim alternative which the next chapter suggests [of being massacred by their own people, ch. 17<sup>2</sup>] as the only one open to these unfortunate rulers" (Moberly).

"He has not said, as he does on another occasion (ii. 33), how many were sold, but we may infer that he depopulated the country of the Veneti at least; and it appears from a later book (vii. 75) that all the Armoric states must have been greatly reduced by this unfortunate war. The only naval power in Gallia that could be formidable to the Romans was totally destroyed, and neither the Veneti nor their allies gave the proconsul any more trouble" (Long).

17. *Unellorum*, along the Channel coast of Normandy. A more correct reading is said to be *Venelli*. — *magnas copias, considerable forces* (not supplies, as these fell short, see 18<sup>4</sup>), most likely meaning here irregular troops (*perditorum hominum*, see next section) as opposed to *exercitum*.

2. *his paucis diebus*, i. e. about the same time. — *perditorum, desperate*: it was now the third year of constant war in Gaul.

3. *carperetur, was carped at*, his reputation "picked to pieces."

4. *opportunitate, a favorable chance (opportunus)*.

18. *edocet, instructs*.

2. *pro perfuga, in the character of a deserter*. — *neque longius esse quin = not later than*: i. e. *the time was not farther off*.

63. 4. *superiorum dierum, on the previous days*. — *confirmatio, positive assertion*. — *parum diligenter, i. e. (in Cæsar's style) very negligently*. — *spes . . . belli = hope founded on, &c.* — *fere . . . credunt = most men are glad to believe, &c.*

5. *non prius, . . . quam, not . . . until*.

6. *ut . . . victoria (abl. abs.) = as if victory were already won*. — *sarmentis, sprouts or young growth*; *virgultis, brushwood*.

19. *paulatim adclivis, gently rising*. — *magno cursu, on a full run*.

3. *factum est, etc., it resulted from the advantage of ground, the enemy's awkwardness and fatigue, the courage of the men and their practice in former fights*.

4. *quos*: the antecedent is *eorum*. — *reliquos paucos, few of the remainder* (§ 50, 2, R<sup>3</sup>; G. 368, R<sup>3</sup>). — *ac = but*.

SOUTHERN GAUL. — The campaign in Aquitania was made merely for strategic reasons, was not provoked by any attack or threat of one, and

appears to have been quite unnecessary (see note, ch. 11<sup>2</sup>) as well as difficult and dangerous. The Aquitani were not closely allied with the Gauls, took no share in their wars, and were at a secure distance. They had no strong military league or combination, but consisted of small isolated clans, and were besides of more industrial habit, being good miners and engineers. As a mere narrative, however, this is an interesting episode of the war.

**64. 20. ex tertia parte** (an idiomatic phrase) = *as a third part*, a greatly exaggerated reckoning. Many of Cæsar's geographical statements (e.g. the account of Britain, v. 13) are extremely ignorant or careless.

**Præconinus, Mallius**: these defeats were 20 years before (B.C. 78), when the Aquitani united with the Marian leader Sertorius, who held Spain for six years against Rome.

**2. Tolosa et Narbone** (early editions add **Carcassone**): Tolosa was an old Gallic town; Narbo, a Roman colony established by the policy of Caius Gracchus, B.C. 118. It became the capital of the Roman province, to which it gave its name. — **Sontiatum**, south of the Garonne, S.E. of the modern Bordeaux: the name remains in the modern *Sds*.

**3. conlocaverunt**: some editions have the pluperfect, which seems to be required. — **ostenderunt, unmasked**.

**21. superioribus victoriis**, i.e. those just related. — **sine imperatore adolescentulo duce**: an *imperator* is the chief commander of an army, holding the *imperium*, or power of military command conferred on him by regular formalities; **dux** is a general designation for any person holding a command, and might be given to a subordinate officer, like Crassus, who acted as an agent and under the *imperium* of his superiors.

**perspicui**: the subj. is the indirect question **quid . . . possent**. — **vertère**, histor. infin. The perfect form in *ēre* is very rare in early prose.

**3. cuniculis, mines**, so called from their likeness to rabbits' burrows. — **ærarie structuræque** (hendiadys), *copper mines*. [The dagger † indicates a corrupt or doubtful reading. Some editions omit the *-que*, and others have **structuræ, works**.] — **diligentiā**, *through the watchfulness*. — **faciunt, they do** [it].

**65. 22. soldurios, knights**, from the Basque **SOLDI, horse**. It is related that these *soldurii* "were dressed in royal garments like their chief."

**2. condicio**: the same condition was found among the Germans (vi. 23), and was the foundation of feudal vassalage.

**3. cum his** (repeated from **cum devotis**), *with these* (I say).

**23. Vocatium, etc.,** further west. — *quibus, within which.* — **quoque versum,** *in every direction* (*quoque* the adverb of *place* formed from the distributive *quisque*; *versum*, the adverb of *direction* usually connected with propositions, as *ad . . . versum*). It is often written *quoquoversum*.

**2. Hispaniæ:** these Iberian populations were allied to the Aquitani (i. 1<sup>4</sup>). Spain had been subject to Rome for more than 150 years, but was always rather mutinous, and had made several attempts at independence, especially under Sertorius (see note, ch. 20<sup>1</sup>). It was also the last stronghold of Pompey's party in the civil war, till finally subdued at Munda, B.C. 45.

**3. omnes annos,** i. e. B. C. 78–72. — *loca capere, to occupy positions,* &c., i. e. make systematic preparations for war.

**4. quod,** in appos. with the clause *suas . . . augeri*; or (altering the punctuation) it may be taken as a conjunction, the clause being the direct object of *animadvertit*. — *diduci, be scattered in various directions.* — **minus commode** = *with great difficulty*.

**66. 24. duplici,** i. e. *two cohorts in depth* (cf. i. 24<sup>2</sup>). His numbers were too few to allow greater depth. — **in mediam aciem,** *to the centre of his line,* where they would be kept in hand by his legionaries (see ch. 25<sup>1</sup>). — **expectabat,** *waited* [to see] *what,* &c.

**2. obsessis viis . . . potiri,** in English, *to block the roads, cut off supplies, and win the victory without a wound.* — **sese recipere,** *to withdraw* from Aquitania. — **in agmine,** *on the march.* — **infirmiore animo** = *dispirited*, an adjective phrase in the same construction with *impeditos* (§ 45, 4). — **adoriri cogitabant,** *had in mind to attack.* — **ab ducibus,** under the inferior officers.

**3. sua,** *their own.* — **opinione timoris,** *the notion* [they had given] *of their own cowardice.* — **expectari,** depending on *cohortatus*. — **omnibus cupientibus** = *to the eager desire of them all*.

**25. opinionem pugnantium,** i. e. an impression as if actually engaged.

**2. ab decumana porta,** i. e. *in the rear* (generally).

**26. 2. intritæ, unworn.** [Observe that while in the compound verb the preposition *in* has an intensive force (*intero, to crumble*), in the compound adjective it has a negative force. Many participles have thus two exactly opposite meanings: as *infractus, broken up* or *unbroken*.]

**67. prius quam:** this phrase is often used with the indicative to show that one actual fact precedes another, just as succession is denoted by *post quam*. Here the subjunctive subordinates the temporal clause to the main idea, just as with *cum* (§ 62, 2, *b* and *c*).

**5. apertissimis campis,** i. e. the broad treeless plains which abound in this part of the country. — **consectatus** (intensive from

**sequor**, *overtaking in hot chase*. — **multa nocte**, *late at night* (loc. abl.). — **Cantabria**, a very hardy people of the western Pyrenees.

**27. Tarbelli, etc.**: some of the names will be recognized in the modern *Tarbes, Bigorre, Garonne*. — **ultimæ**, *remotest*.

**28. omni . . . pacata**, *while all the rest of Gaul was subdued*. — **Morini, etc.**, on the islands and low coast-lands of Flanders and further north. The Celtic **MOR** signifies *sea*. — **alia ac**, *different from*.

**4. longius, too far** (farther than was safe).

**68. 29. deinceps**, i. e. in the days next following. — **conversam**, *fronting*, i. e. with the boughs turned towards the enemy. — **pro vallo**, *as a palisade*.

**2. tenerentur**, *were just getting within reach*. — **ejusmodi uti . . . intermitteretur**, *such that the work was constantly interrupted* (*broken off* would have been *intermissum sit*).

**3. Aulercis, etc.**, along the Seine, near *Evreux* and *Lisieux*. — **proxime**, *last*.

## BOOK FOURTH.

PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.—The year B. C. 55 appears to have been marked by a general movement in the migration of the German tribes. An advance, consisting of the two populations Usipetes and Tencteri, crowded forward by the more powerful Suevi, crossed the lower Rhine into northern Gaul. Cæsar assumed the defence of the country he had just conquered; drove them back across the Rhine; followed them up by an expedition into their own territories, and fully established the supremacy of the Roman arms. Another brief campaign in Germany, two years later, confirmed this success; and the Rhine became the military frontier, recognized for many centuries, between the Roman empire and the barbarian world. In the common opinion of France it is to this day the natural boundary, established (as it were) in perpetuity by the arms of Julius Cæsar.

## PAGE

**69.** *Pompeio, Crasso*: this was B. C. 55. The coalition between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, sometimes called the First Triumvirate, had been formed five years before. In carrying out their scheme, he held the Government of Gaul, while the others took into their own hands this year the whole control of affairs at home (see *Introd.*, “*Life of Cæsar.*”)

*Usipetes, Tencteri*, from beyond the Rhine, a little below Cologne.

2. *Suevis*: this people (the modern *Swabians*) occupied the greater part of central Germany, and was made up of several independent tribes. The name is held to mean *wanderers*. — *premebantur, had been crowded* (§ 58, 3, *b*; G. 225).

3. *centum pagos* (see i. 12): there is probably some confusion here with the ancient German institution of the *Hundred*, a division of the population giving its name to a district of territory. Each *hundred* seems to have sent 1000 men (*singula millia*) to the army. The term early lost its numerical value, and became a mere local designation.

4. *anno post, the year after*. — *in vicem (in vicem), in turn*.

**70.** 5. *privati . . . agri*, i. e. the land was held in tribal communities, — a state of things almost universal among primitive nations. (But some of the Germans appear to have been more advanced: see *Introduction*, near the end.) — *longius anno*: i. e. the Hundred had no fixed possessions, but was transferred yearly from one tract to another, its place being taken by another Hundred. This would prevent at once forming local attachments, and too rapid exhausting of the soil.

6. *frumento*, etc.: they were still in a half-nomadic state, though with some little advance in agriculture (compare vi. 22, and Tac. Germ. 26). — *maximam partem* (adv. acc.), *for the most part*. — *quom* (some copies read *quod*) . . . *faciant*; this clause is a parenthesis: *since from childhood they are trained to no service or discipline, and do nothing whatever against their will*, — a lively contrast of barbarous manners with the severity of Roman family discipline. — *alut*, the subj. is *quæ res*. — *homines* (pred.) *efficit*, *makes [them] men*, &c.

7. *eam*, correl. with *ut*. — *loois frigidissimis* = *even in their extreme climate*. — *habereant*, *have*; *lavarentur*, *bathe* (imperf. by sequence of tenses following *adduxerunt*).

2. *eo*, *ut* . . . *habeant*, *so that they may have* [some one] *to whom*, &c. — *quam quo* . . . *desiderent*, *than that they want*, &c. (For the use of *quo* with the implied negative, see § 66, I, R; G. 541, R<sup>1</sup>).

2. *impenso pretio*, *at high cost*. — *importatis non utuntur* = *do not import for use*. — *deformia*, *ill-shaped*. — *summi laboris*, [capable] *of great labor* (gen. of quality).

3. *eodem vestigio*, *on the same spot* (*foot-print*). — *cum usus est*, *when there is need*. — *ephippia*, *saddles* (a Greek word).

4. *quamvis pauci*, *however few*.

3. *publice*, i. e. *to them as a community*. — *a suis finibus*, *on (back from) their boundaries*. — *una* . . . *Suevis*, *extending from [the territory of] the Suevi in one direction*. — *agri*, *the region* (nom. plur.). The extent of waste lands "is here much exaggerated."

71. 2. *Ubi*, *along the Rhine, between the Usipetes and the Suevi*. — *captus*, *capacity*. — *paulo . . . humaniores* (omit the words in brackets), *somewhat more civilized than the others of that race* (Germans).

3. *gravitatem*, *importance*. — *humilliores* (pred.), *sc. so as to be*.

4. *in eadem causa*, *in the same case*. — *ad extremum*, *at length*.

2. *ad utramque ripam*, *along both banks*.

3. *vi contendere* = *to force a passage*.

4. *priusquam . . . fieret*, § 62, 2, c; G. 579. — *eorum copias*, *on their supplies* (cattle and corn).

5. *infirmiorem*, *weakness of purpose* = *fickleness*. — *nihil . . . committendum*, *nothing should be left to their discretion*.

72. 2. *est . . . consuetudinis*, *it is* [a point] *of Gallic custom* (§ 50, I, d; G. 365, R<sup>1</sup>). — *vulgus circumstat . . . cogant*, *a crowd surrounds the traders, and compels*, &c. With the former verb, the crowd is taken as a whole; with the second, the inquisitive questioners are thought of.

3. *rebus atque auditionibus, facts or hearsays.* — *in vestigio, on the spot*, i. e. presently (*sur-le-champ*). — *serviant* = *are ruled by*. — *plerique . . . respondeant, many give false answers to suit their whim.*

6. *graviori bello, too serious a war* (i. e. unmanageable). — *maturius, earlier* in the season. — *ad exercitum*: the army was now in Normandy (iii. 29).

2. *uti . . . discederent, to advance from the Rhine* further into Gaul. The Belgæ, it will be remembered, claimed kindred with the Germans, and were no doubt ready to retaliate their bloody defeat upon the Romans. — *fore parata, should be got ready* (the regular fut. infin. passive, depending on some such word as *promiserunt*).

4. *quæ cognoverant, the facts he had learned* (the subj. *cognovisset* would make it an indir. question). — *permulsis, calmed* from their terror (lit. *soothed by stroking*, like a nervous horse).

7. *equitibus delectis*: the quota of cavalry was required of each of the allied states.

2. *priores* = *as aggressors* (compare the language of Ariovistus, i. 36). — *neque recusaro quin, they do not decline.* — *quicumque*: the antecedent is *eis* (dat.) implied with *resistere*. — *neque deprecari, and ask no quarter.*

3. *hæc tamen dicere, this however we say* [said they]. — *his, to the Romans*; *eos, sc. agros.* — *concedere, yield, as inferior.*

73. 8. *quæ visum est, as it seemed good* (see i. 14, 43). — *verum, right.*

2. *Ubio rem, see ch. 3<sup>2</sup>.* — *quorum sint, etc., whose envoys* (he informs them) *are now with him to complain, &c.*

9. *post diem tertium (= tertio die), i. e. the next day but one.* (The first and last day are usually counted in the reckoning: so in French *en huit jours = in a week.*) — *id, the two days' delay.*

2. *trans, i. e. westwardly.* — *expectari, translate actively, they were waiting for.*

10. *Vosego, the Vosges*: in fact, "from the plateau of Langres, the cradle of French rivers." — *parte . . . recepta*: the Rhine branches in these low marshy regions, one branch (*Vacalus*, the modern *Waal*), uniting with the Meuse near *Bois-le-Duc* (see note, ch. 15).

2. *Nantuatium* (compare iii. 1): the name is said to mean *river-people*. This list of names is incomplete. — *citatus, with rapid course.* — *feris . . . nationibus*: see the introduction to Motley's "Dutch Republic."

11. *ut erat constitutum, as had been arranged* (the return of the envoys).

**74.** 2. eos (anteced. to qui), *the cavalry who, &c.* — potestatem faceret, *would give authority.* — condicione . . . usuros, *would keep the terms offered by Cæsar.*

3. eodem illo pertinere, *tended the same way with the other* (see ch. 9). i. e. to gain time till the German cavalry should arrive. — aquationis causa: a small stream (the *Niers*) lay between him and the German encampment.

**12.** ubi primum . . . conspexerunt, *as soon as they came in sight.* — amplius octingentos, *more than 800* (§ 45, 3, c; G. 311, R'). — perturbaverunt, *threw into disorder.*

2. resistentibus, sc. nostris. — subfossis, *stabbed in the belly.* — ita perterritos, *so panic-stricken.*

3. regnum obtinuerat, *had held royal power.*

**75.** 13. neque jam, *no longer*: knowing how little his own cavalry (of Gauls) were to be trusted, and that the arrival of the main body of the Germans would put them at once to flight, Cæsar resolved to attack at the first opportunity, right or wrong. — ab his qui, *from men who, &c.*

2. quantum auctoritatis, *how great prestige the enemy had gained by one battle.* — quibus, i. e. the enemy.

3. quæstore, see i. 52'. — res, in appos. with quod . . . venerunt — eadem perfidia: their perfidy Cæsar takes for granted, as the best apology for his own; but the presence of the chiefs and old men looks more as if they came (as they said) to offer amends for the attack of the day before.

4. contra atque, *contrary to what.* — si quid . . . de induitiis — *whatever they could in the way of truce* (de with the abl. is nearly the same with the part. gen.). — fallendo, i. e. by another trick.

5. quos, illos, both refer to the same subject. — quos oblatus gavisus, *delighted that they were put in his power.* By detaining their chief men, he would at once perplex and disable them. — subsequi, *to follow in the rear*; he could not trust them in the intended attack.

**14.** quid ageretur, *what was going on.*

2. ne . . . an . . . an (§ 71, 2; G. 460): the three infinitives all belong to præstaret, *whether it were better.*

4. quo loco = *here on the ground* (a military phrase), where they had some slight advantage.

**76.** reliqua multitudo: the presence of women and children shows that it was a migration for settlement, not a mere inroad for plunder. — ad quos consectandos (frequent. of sequor), *to hunt them down*, a fit business for the cowardly and treacherous Gallic horse. Referring to this massacre of helpless fugitives, Plutarch writes that, "when the Senate was voting public thanksgiving and



processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be given up to the barbarians to expiate that breach of faith, that the divine vengeance might fall upon its author rather than upon Rome" (Life of Cæsar).

15. *confluentem*: the reasons are very strong against placing this action in the low lands at the confluence of the Rhine and Meuse (*Mosa*); among them the great distance, more than 120 miles, from the place where Cæsar actually crossed the Rhine. It will make the whole narrative much clearer, to regard this (with Goeler) as the confluence of the Rhine and Mosella (*Moselle*) at Coblentz, the ancient *Confluentes*. In this view the text has been confused by the likeness of the names, while ch. 10 appears to be a note added perhaps by some geographer. — *reliqua fuga, further flight*.

2. *ex . . . timore* = *relieved from* [the apprehension of] *so great a war*.

3. *discedendi potestatem, permission to depart*. Cæsar practically acquits them of the charge of treachery (compare his dealings with the Veneti, iii. 16). The attack and massacre were purely for "moral effect." — *supplicia* = *vengeance*.

16. *illa, the following*. — *justissima, most reasonable*. — *suis . . . intellegent, he wished them to fear for their own affairs also, since they would understand, &c.* (*cum intellegent* is here nearly equivalent to a participle).

2. *accessit quod = and besides*. — *quam . . . transisse, which, as I mentioned above* (the conjunction *that* of indirect discourse cannot be used in English to introduce a relative clause). Observe that Cæsar the *writer* uses the first person (*commemoravi*); Cæsar the *actor* is always in the third. — *Sugambrorum*, just north of the Ubii.

3. *qui postularent . . . dederent, to require them to surrender those who, &c.* — *finire, was the limit of* (see introd. note, Book iv.). — *se invito, without his own consent*. — *sui imperii* (pred. after *esse*), *under his power*.

4. *occupationibus reipublicæ, by the demands of state affairs*.

5. *opinionem, reputation*. — *navium, boats*.

17. *nequo . . . esse, it did not belong to his dignity, &c.*

2. *latitudinem, etc.* Cæsar's passage of the Rhine was most probably at Bonn, where the high and rocky banks begin; or at Neuwied, 20 or 25 miles further south, where there is a break in the chain of hills (but here, it is said, the bottom is rock, and not fit for driving piles). The width of the river at either place is about 1400 feet; its depth is very variable. It is now crossed in these parts by floating bridges of boats.

3. *rationem, plan.* The brief description which Cæsar gives of his rough and ready but very serviceable engineering may be made clearer by giving its different points as follows : —

1. A pair of unhewn logs, a foot and a half thick (*tigna bina sesquipedalia*), braced two feet apart, and sharpened at the end, is driven with rammers (*fistucis*) into the bottom, sloping a little with the stream <sup>(4)</sup>.

2. A similar pair is driven in opposite, 40 feet below, sloping a little against the stream <sup>(4)</sup> : the upper ends of the two pairs would thus be some 25 or 30 feet apart, the width of the roadway.

3. A beam of square timber, two feet thick (*trabs bipedalis*), and about 30 feet long, is made fast at the end by ties (*fibulis*) between the logs of each pair, — which are thus kept at a proper distance apart, while they are strongly braced against the current <sup>(5)</sup>.

4. A suitable number (probably about 60) of these trestles, or timber-arches, having been built and connected by cross-ties, — this part of the structure must be taken for granted, — planks are then laid lengthwise of the bridge (*directa materia*), resting on the heavy floor-timbers ; and upon these, again, saplings and twigs (*longurii, crates*) are spread, to prevent the jar and wear of the carts upon the flooring <sup>(6)</sup>.

5. Piles (*sublicæ*) are then driven in below, resting obliquely against the logs, to which they serve as shores or butts (*pro ariete*), and other heavier piles a little way above, to break the force of floating logs or boats sent down to destroy the bridge <sup>(7)</sup>.

*tigna*, probably unhewn logs. — *bina, two and two*, i. e. in pairs. — *pedum duorum*, i. e. between the timbers of each pair.

4. *machinationibus immissa, driven in with engines* (a sort of pile-drivers). — *sublicæ modo, like a pile.* — *fastigate, sloping* (like the rafters of a house). — *ut . . . procumbent, so as to fall forward with the current.* — *ab inferiore parte, down stream.*

5. *hæc utraque . . . distinebantur, these two sets (or pairs) were held apart by two-foot timbers laid on above,* — [in thickness] *equal to the interval left by the fastening of the beams (quantum . . . distabat), with a pair of ties at each end.* — *quibus [tignis] . . . revinctis, which being held apart, and made fast again at the opposite end, i. e. the ties held them apart, while the main beams kept them from falling asunder.*

78. *artius (= arctius), more closely.*

6. *hæc . . . contexebantur, these (the framework of timber) were covered with boards lengthwise.* — *sublicæ . . . agebantur, piles (or shores) were driven slanting on the lower side, so as to prop the bridge against the current.* — *pro ariete, as a buttress (abutting).*

7. *aliæ item, other piles a little way above, to serve as a breakwater or stockade.* — *deiciendi operis, sc. gratiâ* (§ 73, 3,

*a*<sup>1</sup>, last example; G. 429, R<sup>3</sup>), to throw down the work. — his defensoribus, by these defences. — neu . . . nocerent, and that they (trunci, etc.) might not harm the bridge.

18. diebus decem, within ten days. — traducitur, the histor. present, resumed from 16<sup>1</sup>.

3. hortantibus his, etc., the few who had escaped the massacre of ch. 15, and had taken refuge across the Rhine.

19. succisis, cut down to the ground.

2. uti . . . convenirent, clause of result (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 546, R<sup>1</sup>) following the verbal phrase nuntios . . . dimisisse. — omnes, sc. ut. — hunc, etc., this (the place of meeting) had been selected in the midst, &c.; medium, agreeing directly with hunc (§ 47, 6; G. 324, R<sup>6</sup>), in preference to the adverbial phrase in medio.

3. ut . . . liberaret, these clauses are in appos. with rebus his.

79. ulcisceretur, chastise. — rescidit, broke up.

THE LANDING IN BRITAIN. — What is called the First Invasion of Britain, though it marks an interesting date in history, and gave fresh stimulus to Roman curiosity and ambition, was in itself an affair of small account. It was, in fact, only meant for a reconnoissance, or, perhaps, as opening the way to further schemes. Towards the end of summer, Cæsar sailed across to the white cliffs of Dover, coasted a few miles towards the west, and established a camp on the British coast. His cavalry, meanwhile, had been weatherbound in their transports, and then, after crossing, were driven back by rough winds without even coming to land. After holding an uneasy and perilous position for about three weeks, he returned to Gaul, without accomplishing anything beyond a barren display of hardihood.

20. exiguā . . . reliquā, when but little of the summer was left: ablative absolute (or it might be construed as simple loc. abl., in the brief remainder of the summer; illustrating the development of the one from the other construction). — etsi . . . tamen . . . contendit, though the winters are early, yet he made haste to advance, &c.

2. omnibus bellis (loc. abl.), in almost all, &c. — hostibus, dat. after sumministrata, furnished to the enemy. — si . . . tamen, even if time should fail, still, &c. — magno usui, dat. of service. — fore: the subj. is the clause si . . . cognovisset, he thought it would be of great advantage if, &c.; the pluperfect adisset, etc., representing the future perf. adierit, following arbitrabatur. [Observe in this sentence, that while Cæsar's action is given in the perfect (contendit), his reasons are in the imperfect (intellegebat, arbitrabatur); while the conditional clauses si deficeret, si adisset, are strictly future conditions carried into the past by the

sequence of tenses, § 59, 4, *f*; G. 598, R<sup>1</sup>.]—*quæ omnia*, *all of which* (§ 50, 2, R<sup>2</sup>; G. 368, R<sup>1</sup>).—*Gallia incognita*, i. e. except to the secluded and jealous Veneti (iii. 8).

3. *neque enim* (neg. of *etenim*, § 43, 3, *d*; G. 500, R<sup>2</sup>), to be rendered with *quisquam*, *for no one*.—*temere*, *without good reason*.—*neque quicquam*—*and nothing*.—*is*, dat. after *notum* (§ 51, 4, *b*; G. 352).—*Gallias*, i. e. Celtic and Belgic Gaul.

4. *vocatis mercatoribus*, etc.—*he called the traders, but could not*, &c.—*quem usum*—*what degree of skill*.—*quanta . . . portus*, these indir. questions follow *reperire poterat*.

21. *periculum faceret*, *making the trial* (or *risk*).—*idoneum*, *a fit person*.—*navi longa*, see iii. 9<sup>1</sup>.—*quam primum*, *as soon as possible*.

2. *Morinos*, occupying the nearest point to Britain: in clear weather the British coast is in sight from these shores.—*quam classem*, *the fleet which* (§ 48, 3, *b*; G. 618).—*qui polliceantur*, *to promise* (§ 64, 1; G. 544), followed by *dare* as complem. infin. (§ 70, 2, *d*; G. 527, R<sup>1</sup>), a rare use, for *se daturus* [esse].

§9. 4. *ut permanerent*, to remain, object-clause after *hortatus*.—*Atrebatibus superatis* (see ii. 23): the same people, it is said, occupied Berkshire in England, whence the supposed influence of Commius.—*ibi*, i. e. among the Atrebates (§ 48, 5; G. 613, R<sup>1</sup>).—*magni*, gen. of value (§ 50, 1, *i*; G. 399), *of great account*.

5. *huic*, indir. obj. of *imperat*; the direct obj. is the whole clause, down to *nuntiet*.—*fidem sequantur*, i. e. *accept the protection of*, or *submit to*.—*seque . . . nuntiet*, *and tell them that he is coming*.

6. *quantum* (sc. *tantum*) . . *auderet*, *so far as opportunity could be given to one who did not venture*, &c.—*perspexisset*, *had investigated*: for sequence of tenses, see § 58, 10, *e*; G. 511, R<sup>1</sup>.

22. *superioris temporis*, *of the season before* (see iii. 28).—*homines barbari*—*being* (as they were) *barbarians*.

2. *satis opportune*, *quite seasonably*.—*has . . . anteponeudas*, *that occupation about such little matters should be put before* [the invasion of] *Britain*.

3. *coactis*, *gathered* from various quarters; *contractis*, *brought together* into port (at *Boulogne*).—*quod . . . habebat*, *all the galleys he had besides*.—*ex eo loco*, etc., *eight miles from there*, at the port of *Ambleteuse*.—*tenebantur quo minus*, *were detained from*.—*equitibus*, *cavalry*, of whom there were 450.

§1. 23. *idoneam tempestatem*, *favorable weather*.—*tertia vigilia*, *at midnight*. The date was August 26, high water being about half past seven, P.M.; the ships, therefore, would go out at

about half-tide. — *solvit*, loosed or cast-off the ships : used like our phrase *weighed anchor*. — *equites* : these were to embark at *Ambletuse*, as above.

2. *paulo tardius* : they sailed after a delay of three days (ch. 28). — *hora quarta*, about half-past eight A.M., about an hour after high-tide. The landing was near Dover, where he lay at anchor till half past three.

3. *montibus angustis*, i. e. cliffs coming close to the shore.

4. *dum . . . convenirent*, until the other ships should come up (§ 62, 2, *d*; G. 574).

5. *ut . . . postularent*, as military science and especially seamanship require; relat. clause following *monuit . . . administrarentur*, enjoined that every thing should be done promptly. — *ut quæ . . . haberent* (§ 65, 2, *e*; G. 637), since they have, &c.

6. *his dimissis*, when they were sent to their posts (observe the dispersive effect of *di*-). — *æstum secundum* : the tide in this place would run west till about half past six. — *aperto . . . litore* : "at Lymne in Romney marsh, where the cliffs are far back from the beach, and there is a fine shingle."

24. *essedariis* : the *essedum* was a two-wheeled war-chariot. — *quo genere*, i. e. both horses and chariots, making a sort of flying artillery. — *copiis*, abl. of accompaniment (§ 54, 6, *a*; G. 391). — *egredi*, infin. for *ne* or *quominus* with subj.

2. *nisi in alto*, except in deep water. — *militibus*, dat. after *desiliendum*, the men had to leap down. — *oppressis* (taken with *militibus*), weighted as they were. — *cum . . . conicerent*, while they (the Britons), &c. — *arido*, dry ground. — *insuefactos*, trained to it, i. e. to charge to the water's edge.

3. *generis* (gen. after *imperiti*, § 50, 3, *b*; G. 373) : wholly unskilled in this sort of fighting.

82. *pedestribus*, on land, where the main strength lay with infantry. — *uti*, employ or exhibit.

25. *naves* (obj. of *jussit*, and subj. of *removeri*), ordered the vessels to be set back. — *species*, appearance. — *inusitator*, quite strange. — *latus apertum*, the exposed flank, i. e. the right, unprotected by their shields. — *tormentis*, engines, for hurling stones, darts, &c. (ii. 8<sup>o</sup>). — *quæ res*, this manœuvre.

2. *permoti*, thrown into confusion. — *constiterunt*. — *ac — atque*, and besides. — *paulum modo*, just a little.

3. *qui ferebat*, the one who carried : the antecedent of *qui* is *is*, the understood subj. of *inquit*. — *contestatus*, appealing to. — *aquilam* : the standard of the legion was a silver or bronze eagle, borne on a spear-shaft by the chief centurion (*primipilus*). — *legioni*, dat. of reference (§ 51, 7; G. 343).

4. *ego certe . . . præstitero, I at any rate shall have done, &c.* (see § 58, 7, R; G. 236).

5. *inter se, one another* (§ 19, 3, d; G. 212). — *universi, all at once.* — *ex proximis* [primis] *navibus, from the nearest ships* (those in the front line). — *adpropinquarunt*: the subject is, [those] *from, &c.*

26. *pugnatum est = they fought.* — *ab utrisque, strictly, by those on both sides.* — *poterant . . . submittebat*: notice the numerous *imperfects* of this description, implying repeated or continuous action. — *alii alia ex navi = from different ships* (§ 47, 9; G. 306). — *quibuscumque signis, dat. after occurrebat*; the antecedent noun and pronoun (*eis signis*), if expressed, would be *dat. after adgregabat*. The clause from *quod* to *adgregabat* is a parenthesis.

2. *singulares, in scattered groups.* — *adoriebantur, would attack.* — *ab latere aperto* (see ch. 15<sup>1</sup>), *on the exposed flank* of the Romans. — *in universos, upon the mass.*

3. *speculatoria navigia, swift light boats for reconnoissance.*

4. *simul [atque], as soon as.*

83. *quod equites, etc., they were windbound at Ambletuse* (ch. 22<sup>4</sup>). — *hoc unum . . . defuit*: “in fact, a tide of disasters was now setting in to continue several years.”

27. *quæ imperasset, what he should require (quæ imperaveris).* — *quem præmissum, ch. 21<sup>4</sup>.*

2. *oratoris modo, in the character of envoy (or spokesman).* — *ut [sibi] ignosceretur, that [this thing] might be pardoned* (*ignosco* takes a direct object of the thing, with an indirect object of the person).

3. *bellum . . . intulissent*: these barbarous people might be pardoned for mistaking Cæsar's expedition as an invasion! — *ignoscere*: for the omission of the subject, see § 67, 1, a<sup>2</sup>; G. 527, R<sup>2</sup>. — *arcessitam = when they should be fetched.*

4. *remigrare, to move back.*

28. *post diem quartum, i. e. three days after.* — *naves, etc.,* see ch. 22<sup>4</sup>.

2. *aliæ . . . aliæ, some . . . others.* — *sui* (obj. gen. with *periculo*), *to themselves.* — *occasum, west.* — *cum . . . complerentur, since they were filling* as they lay at anchor. — *adversa nocte, in the face of the night.*

29. *eadem nocte*: this was the night of August 30; the moon was full at 3 A. M.

84. *æstus maximos, spring tides.* The ocean tides, rising here between 20 and 30 feet, were a strange phenomenon to those who had known only the tideless waters of the Mediterranean

(compare iii. 8<sup>1</sup>).—*naves*, obj. of *compleverat*.—*adistabat* (intensive), *dashed about*.—*facultas*, *opportunity* (to do a thing).

2. *id quod*, see § 48, 3, *e*; G. 612, R<sup>1</sup>.

3. *quod constabat*, *because it was settled*: the subj. is *operere*, of which the subj. is *hiemari*, *that to winter in Gaul was needful*.—*his in locis*: for the order of words see § 76, 3, *a*.

30. *principes*, subj. of *duxerunt*.—*hoc angustiora*, *so much the smaller*: *hoc* is abl. of means (§ 54, 6, *e*; G. 400).—*optimum*, in pred. agreement with *frumento . . . producere*.—*duxerunt*, *thought*.—*frumento, commeatu*, *corn and other supplies*.—*rem*, *the business* of the invasion.—*his . . . intervalis*, abl. abs. of condition: *if these should be overcome, &c.*—*deducere*, *bring down towards the coast*.

31. *ex eventu navium*, *from what had befallen the ships*.—*ex eo quod*, *from the fact that*.—*auspicabatur*, *began to suspect*.—*subsidia comparabat*, *made provision*.

2. *quæ . . . naves, earum, etc.*, *the timber and copper of those ships which, &c.* (§ 48, 3, *b*; G. 618).—*quæ . . . usus*, *whatever was of use*: the antecedent of *quæ* is *ea*, subj. of *comportari*.

85. *reliquis . . . effecit*, *he managed so that they could sail* (*navigari*, *impers.*) *tolerably with the rest*.

32. *geruntur*, § 58, 2, *e*; G. 220, R<sup>1</sup>.—*frumentatum*, *to get corn* (supine).—*pars hominum*, *some of the people*.—*ventitaret*, *returned from time to time* (frequent., § 36, *b*).—*pro*, *in front of*.—*quam . . . ferret* = *than usual*.

2. *id quod erat* = *what was the fact*.—*aliquid . . . consilii*, *that some new design was undertaken*.—*ex reliquis duas*, *two of the others*.—*armari*, *to arm*; in verbs, thus used reflexively, English prefers the active and Latin the passive form.

3. *paulo longius*, *some little distance*.—*premi . . . sustinere*, *were getting pushed, and hardly held their ground*.—*conferta legione* (loc. abl. for *in confertam legionem*) = *the legion was formed in solid square, while weapons were hurled, &c.* Observe the force of Latin, in conveying a description, as here, by a participial phrase.

4. *suspicati*, *supposing* (§ 72, 1, *b*; G. 278, R).—*disperso, occupatos*, *while scattered, &c.*, agreeing with *milites*, governed by *adorti*.—*incertis ordinibus* (abl. abs.), *because the ranks were unsteady*.

33. *ex essedis*: these chariots are often represented with scythes at the axle, of which Cæsar makes no mention. They held six men each, and were drawn by two horses.—*cum se insinuerunt*, *when they have wound in*.

2. *paulatim*, *little by little* (§ 41, 1, *h*).—*illi*, i. e. the fighting men spoken of above.—*expeditum receptum*, *a ready retreat*.

3. *præstant, exhibit.* Cæsar was much struck with the efficiency of the German and British horse (see ch. 13), and made it the basis of important changes in the Roman army. — *utl . . . consuerint*, clause of result following *efficient*. — *declivi ac præcipiti loco* = *a steep downward slope*. — *incitatos equos sustinere*, *to check their horses in full gallop* (infin. after *consuerint*). — *brevi*, *within a short space*.

§6. 34. *quibus rebus*, *under these circumstances* (loc. abl.). — *nostris*, dat. following *tulit auxilium*.

2. *alienum . . . arbitratus*, *judging it an unfavorable time*.

3. *quæ . . . continerent*, *so as to keep* (§ 65, 2; G. 633).

4. *prædicaverunt*, *bragged about*. — *quanta . . . facultas daretur*, *what opportunity was offered* (indir. question following *demonstraverunt*). — *ad castra*, *towards the camp*.

35. *ut effugerent* (in appos. with *idem*, the subj. of *fore*), *namely, that if, &c.* — *effugerent*, *would escape*: the future signification is from the effect of *fore*. — *equites triginta*: these few cavalry would be of no service in an engagement, but only in pursuit. To chase and cut down the beaten army was considered an essential part of the battle.

3. *tanto spatio*, *over as much ground* (§ 55, 2, *b*; G. 387).

36. *die æquinoctii*, the stormy season (Sept. 24). "Cæsar had therefore been nearly a month in Britain, without being able to advance a mile from the shore." — *hiemi, etc.*, *thought the voyage ought not to be exposed to foul weather*.

§7. 2. *eodem . . . portus*, *the same parts with the others*: *reliqui* is masc. (by *synesis*) as referring to *milites*; some editions have *reliquæ* [*naves*].

*paulo infra*: "the west current sets in on the French coast, while that to the east is still running in mid-channel."

37. *expositi*, *landed*. — *not ita magno*, *not very large*.

3. *horis*, abl. of comparison with *amplius*: a more common construction would be *horas*.

4. *postea quam* = *as soon as*.

38. *superiore anno*, see iii. 28<sup>o</sup>: the *tempestates* of ch. 34 were apparently merely gusty weather without rain.

3. *supplicatio*, compare end of Book ii.

The crossing of the Rhine had strongly impressed the mind of the Romans, and so too the passage into Britain, though in fact a failure. This unprecedented thanksgiving of 20 days we must remember, however, was voted by Cæsar's own party, who now held all the offices; and who would wish to cover up the impression of any ill success. In fact, though he had added nothing to Roman power, he had opened a new world to Roman ambition.





GAI SALVSTI CRISPI

DE CATILINAE CONIVRATIONE

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THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

AS RELATED BY

SALLUST

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EDITED BY J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH

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## NOTE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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**LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA** was an old soldier and partisan of Sulla, a man of profligate character, broken fortunes, and headstrong ambition. About twelve years after Sulla's death, he formed a scheme to better his estate by political adventure. His confederates were, some of them, men of good family and high official standing; the larger number, probably, needy and reckless fortune-hunters. His plan was to get himself into power in the ordinary way of popular elections; then, by the spoils and chances of office, to secure his own predominance, and reward the service of his adherents. Probably his plans did not differ much from those of most political soldiers of fortune. They seem to have been ripened as early as B. C. 66. Two years later, he was defeated in a close race for the consulship by Cicero and Caius Antonius. Renewing his attempt at the next elections, he was again defeated, and, when driven from the city by the invective of Cicero, he raised the standard of open insurrection. His confederates in the city were seized and put to death, and in the following January, a month later, he was beaten in battle, and his armed force completely annihilated.

The Conspiracy of Catiline, so called, was the principal political event in Rome from the dictatorship of Sulla down to that of Julius Cæsar; and, in point of time, was almost exactly half way between the two. It was not — what the name generally means — a conspiracy to overthrow the existing government. It was a scheme, on the part of a few needy and desperate politicians, to get themselves elected

in regular form, and then to carry on the government to their own advantage. Apart from the character of the men who engaged in it, it does not seem to have been any more criminal in its origin or plans than any "ring" or cabal by which a personal interest seeks its ends through the forms of constitutional election. Only when, after three years' attempt, it was finally defeated at the polls, and appealed to armed insurrection, did it take the shape of treason. And even then it kept the formalities of civil and military authority, and rejected the help of slaves; claiming that its real object was to rid the state of an oppressive and selfish oligarchy. That its real aim was to destroy the state — which Cicero asserts — was, at any rate, so well disguised, that the party which succeeded in overcoming it fell into odium as enemies of the people, and found their own ruin in its defeat.

These circumstances have made the true character and aims of the conspiracy one of the riddles of Roman politics. Cicero, in a well-known passage (Cat. II.), ranges the conspirators in five "dangerous classes," of which the most respectable were men of large estates heavily mortgaged, whose debts made them ready to welcome any sort of change. But they, as he shows, could have no real interest in a revolution. And it may be safe, perhaps, along with many critics, to dismiss the stories of bloody rites, criminal oaths, and desperate designs of massacre and conflagration, as the tales of frightened fancy and political hate. But of the reckless and criminal character of its leaders, and the mischief they would have done if they had got into office, there seems no reason for doubt. As candidate, Cicero had beaten them fairly in a hard-fought battle at the polls. As consul, he had worked, actively and effectually, to block their further political game. When they were finally defeated, in the fall elections of his consular year, and lost heart to try again, he was vigilant, shrewd, intrepid, and successful, in tracking their schemes of open violence, and forcing the development of their plot beyond the walls.

His colleague Antonius — whom, half by bribery and half by flattery or threats, he had turned against them — was compelled, with whatever reluctance, to take the field to fight them; and, though conveniently lame on the day of battle, had forced upon him the military glory of their defeat. The conspiracy proper was quite annihilated by this blow. No avowed leader or accomplice in it seems to have been left in Rome. And it was not till the coalition of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, three years later, gave new hope to the enemies of the Senate, and Clodius succeeded Catiline as the leader of what was most ferocious and desperate in Rome, that Cicero met the penalty of his great political error, the illegal death of the conspirators.

In the logic of events, this conspiracy was a sequel to the revolution of Sulla, and a prelude to the overthrow of the republic by Cæsar. While nominally a conservative, Sulla had been, in reality, an innovator of the most dangerous type. He had set himself in armed opposition to a reform, which, though disfigured from the times of the Gracchi by many acts of violence, might yet have saved for many generations the free political life of Rome. The great political crime of Sulla was that he deliberately destroyed the existing constitution, to restore by force that which had been outgrown a hundred years before. A still more fatal policy was to subvert the popular life of the Italian communities, and to destroy, as far as he could, the remains of that free yeomanry which — though in arms against Rome in the “Social War” — made now the best hope of the Republic. The dictator must provide landed estates for his veterans, whatever came of it; and the wide-spread ruin and despair that rose from this made the chief reliance of the conspiracy. The horrible civil war, with its massacres on one side and its proscriptions on the other, had fatally corrupted the very springs of political morality. It had even destroyed (so to speak) the political sense. Politics had been bad enough before. Party controversies had often resulted in assassination, massacre, and exile. Now, it was



deliberately resolved to settle all such questions by the sword. When Sulla (B. C. 88), on being directed by the authority of the State to surrender his command to Marius, refused to obey, but marched instead upon the city, and put his antagonists to the sword, the Republic was at an end. Though nominally restored, it was after this an empty form. It opened the field for the swift victories of Pompey, the eloquent career of Cicero, the brilliant exploits of Cæsar. But its political life was a series of violences, conspiracies, and cabals. The real power was only waiting for the man who had the capacity and the will to take it. When the forces of faction were at length exhausted, the wary craft of Octavianus easily gathered the ripe spoils of empire.

The conspiracy of Catiline was, at most, a futile attempt to do what Sulla had done once, and what Cæsar did afterwards. It failed, partly because it was undertaken by an incompetent chief; but mainly because it was an impatient effort to hasten the natural course of events. The revolutions of Sulla and of Cæsar grew out of a long series of transactions; they were seen coming, and prepared for long beforehand. It was otherwise in Catiline's case. There was no great convulsion which his success might seem to heal, no war of parties to which he might offer the bribe of peace. There was discontent enough to appeal to, and misgovernment enough to assail. And it may be that he was used by wilier and abler plotters, to feel whether the time was ripe. But the success of such a movement could have been nothing but a pure tyranny, without even the plea of necessity, which Cæsar and perhaps Sulla might urge. It is, therefore, not a great event of history, but only an episode, or at most a significant incident. It grew out of the disorder of the times; it also reacted upon them, did much immediate mischief, and probably hastened the final catastrophe. Still, if we knew nothing of it except the fact that it took place, the real loss to history would be slight and indirect. We could not afford, it is true, to lose Sallust's narrative of the conspiracy, or Cicero's orations against its chief. But we

could very well afford to exchange them for other things which we have lost,—works of the same authors, and no greater in extent.

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Of Sallust — CAIUS SALUSTIUS CRISPUS—we know little that is worth knowing, except the bare outlines of his life, and the fact that he was a constant partisan of Cæsar. He was born B. C. 86, just twenty years later than Cicero. He was never very prominent in the politics of Rome, though he says that in his youth he had strong inducements to enter public life. His private life was charged as scandalous; he was once, it is said, soundly thrashed by Milo for attentions to his wife, and was afterwards expelled from the Senate by the partisans of Pompey. He served Cæsar rather inefficiently in the Civil War; and was made by him governor (*proprætor*) of the provinces of Africa and Numidia. Here he gathered the usual spoils of great wealth, and the rarer treasure of historic material which he used in his romantic and striking narrative of the career of Jugurtha, the great Numidian chieftain. His gardens in Rome were proverbial for luxury and splendor; and he lived in retired indulgence, apart from the later struggles of the Commonwealth, till his death in B. C. 35.

As historian, it was the plan of Sallust to write out the history of his own times, beginning with the death of Sulla. He seems also to have touched upon earlier events, especially the Social or Marsic War; and his history of Jugurtha may be regarded as a sort of introduction to the civil wars of Marius, whose earlier political career is told in it. His practice was to write in episodes, or fragments; and of his more general scheme only the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy remains, with a few speeches and letters, which are little else than pieces of rhetorical composition.

The ancients ranked Sallust very high as a writer, and did not scruple to compare him to Thucydides.\* Modern

\* Sed non historia cesserit Græcis, nec opponere Thucydidi Salustium verear. Quint. x. 1, 101.

criticism does not support this view. His merits as a writer are doubtless very great. He is master of a terse, sententious, manly style, — *oris probi, animo inverecundo*, — and tells his story with considerable narrative power. But, compared with Thucydides or with Tacitus, his writings show no real earnestness or dignity; the elaborate political disquisitions and moral reflections seem forced; his descriptions, though vigorous and compact, lack that wonderful vividness which we find in those great historians. He gives the impression of a rhetorician, saying — finely — what he thinks it is proper for him to say, rather than expressing genuine feelings and opinions. He has been called a pessimist, cynical, and *blasé*; and has been accused of unfairness, particularly of hostility to Cicero. But this last charge is certainly not made out: the “Catiline,” at least, is remarkably free from partisan feeling, except as it may perhaps echo the scandals or the temper of the period. And the debaucheries, of which Sallust’s earlier career is accused, were greatly atoned by the honest attempt he seems to have made, later in his life, to leave a fit and instructive record of a remarkable time.

## CHRONOLOGY OF CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

B. C.

68. Coss. L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Marcius Rex. *Catiline prætor.*
67. „ C. Calpurnius Piso. M'. Acilius Glabrio. *Catiline governor of Africa.* Gabinian Law passed.
66. „ M. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Volcatius Tullus.  
*Catiline's First Conspiracy.* Manilian Law passed.
65. „ L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Manlius Torquatus.  
*Catiline prosecuted on a charge of repetundæ.*
64. „ L. Julius Cæsar. Q. Marcius Figulus.  
*Catiline is defeated as candidate for consul.*
63. „ M. Tullius Cicero. C. Antonius (Kal. Jan. = March 14).  
*Catiline's Second Conspiracy.*  
Oct. 21. Consuls invested with extraordinary powers.  
„ 27. Manlius takes up arms at Fæsulæ.  
„ 28. Consular election.  
Catiline prosecuted under the *Lex Plautia de vi.*  
Nov. 6. Meeting of Conspirators at the house of M. Læca.  
„ 8. Cicero's First Oration. Catiline leaves the city.  
„ 9. Cicero's Second Oration.  
Intrigues with the ambassadors of the Allobroges.  
Dec. 3. Arrest of the Conspirators. Cicero's Third Oration.  
„ 5. Cicero's Fourth Oration.  
The Conspirators put to death in prison.
62. „ D. Junius Silvanus. L. Licinius Murena (Kal. Jan. = March 4).  
Battle of Pistoria. Catiline defeated and killed.



## THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

B.C. 63.

OMNIS homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum deis, alterum cum beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere; et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.

Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget. 2. Igitur initio reges — nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit — divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubricinam dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret.

Nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est; verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur.

Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes transiere: quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

3. Pulcrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique quae delicta reprehenderis malivolentia et invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.

Sed ego adolescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinencia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem eadem-

*que* quae ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat. 4. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere, neque vero agrum colundo aut venando (servilibus officiis) intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere, — eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicae animus liber erat.

Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. LUCIUS CATILINA nobili genere natus fuit, magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei lubet simulator ac dissimulatur: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum: vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Luci Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant.

Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civi-



tatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim immutata ex pulcherruma *atque optuma* pessuma ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

6. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coa-luerint. Sed postquam res eorum, civibus moribus agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulencia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem patriam parentisque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant.

Imperium legitimum, nomen imperi regium habebant: delecti quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consultabant: ei vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convortit, immutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum. 7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspiciores sunt, semperque eis aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed

civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicut ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat, ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optimum quisque facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

9. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur: concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat: jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia discordias simultates cum hostibus

exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod beneficiis magis quam metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant: saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, eis otium, divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit: pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere.

Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissimum atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum. 11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam honorem imperium bonus et ignavos aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes

desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat: loca amoena voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari; ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur ei milites postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant: ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere, et eas gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter injuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores

reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti. 13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse? Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae: quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor incesserat: viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus adulter ganeo manu ventre bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adulescentium familiaritates appetebat: eorum animi molles [aetate] et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta praebere, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum

illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse, sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat.

15. Jam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia hujusce modi contra jus fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adultum aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, deis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat. 16. Sed juventutem, quam (ut supra diximus) inlexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula, vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, jugulare, — scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usu, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat, ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Caesare [et] C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare : hortari alios, alios temptare : opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae Servi filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius : praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius : ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consili hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat : quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consili fuisse ; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magni exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit : de qua quam verissime potero dicam. L. Tullo [et] M'. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. Post paulo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere [quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit]. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et

Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus conreptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. . . . Ea re cognita, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit. 19. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompei formidulosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos sine exercitu ductabat iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta superba crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos: numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea perpressos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina, ubi eos quos paulo ante memoravi convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens univorsos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit, atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem hujusce modi habuit:

“Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset: spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia



incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pūlcerrumum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intellexi. Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

“Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus adcenditur, cum considero quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, eis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quae quo usque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?

“Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est; viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum modo incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extrudendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam?

“Quin igitur expergiscimini! En illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt: fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis

quam oratio mea vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utemini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quietam movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, ut proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi conlegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc male dictis increpabat omnis bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus ut petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit. 22. Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad iurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, [atque eo dictitare fecisse,] quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab eis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris

eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

23. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus copertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia : neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo : cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit, et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret ; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curi causa cognita, tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

24. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius. Quod factum primo popularis conjurationis concusserat : neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare ; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Manlium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantum modo quaestui neque luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia

urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro liberis satis fortunata fuit: litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; lubidine sic adcensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat; luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deērant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet; ad hoc conlegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae quas [consulibus] in campo fecerat prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.

27. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum

Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: [consulibus] insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitantii nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat penes M. Porcium Laecam, ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum obficere. 28. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvviso domui suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.

29. Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habe-

bat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatum. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, *Darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.* Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere: aliter sine populi jussu nullius earum rerum consuli jus est.

30. Post paucos dies, L. Saenius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portentosa atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat;—sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione quae contra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur, eisque minores magistratus praeëssent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque

pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare sese, manus supplicis ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.

At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi causa vel sui expurgandi, sicubi jurgio laceratus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu voce supplici postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent, sibi, patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in populum Romanum essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc male dicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus, *Quoniam quidem circumventus inquit ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.*

32. Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur multa antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus rebus possint opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia

aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem adcessurum.

33. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis hujusce modi: 'Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui, miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum, plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere, — tanta saevitia feneratorum atque praetoris fuit, Saepe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt, ac novissime memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est: saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus quonam modo maxime ultimi sanguinem nostrum pereamus.' 34. Ad haec Q. Marcius respondet: Si quid ab senatu petere velint, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit: Se, falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere; Massiliam in



quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat. 38. Nam postquam, Cn. Pompeio [et] M. Crasso consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes summam potestatem nanci, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere: ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senatus specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, post Sullae tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque potentia certabant. Neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

39. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Ei magistratus, provincias aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii florentes sine metu aetatem agere, ceteros, qui plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent, judiciis terrere. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum adrexit. Quod si primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, si victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In eis erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Eisdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut ipse aut per

alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret. 40. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare, 'At ego' inquit 'vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiat.' Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumum spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo praesente conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. 41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti

cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecipit ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

42. Eisdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul agebant : nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto causa cognita in vincula conjecerat, item in ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis, constituerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebei, conitione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellicae gravissimum invidiam optumo consuli imponeret : eo signo, proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur : Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret ; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium ; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent ; simul, caede et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum : illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere ; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse ; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus

aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat : maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt : ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jus jurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant ; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est : “ Quis sim, ex eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse : consideres quid tuae rationes postulent : auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.” Ad hoc mandata verbis dat : cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet ? in urbe parata esse quae jusserit : ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua profiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant ; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur ; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venere, simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito, cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius, primo cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit ; deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus

erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere: nam laetabatur intellegens conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat, dubitans in maximo scelere, tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque [quendam] Caeparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat.

Ceteri sine mora veniunt; Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum quod praetor erat ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium, cum litteris quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet. 47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit, docetque se, paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur, ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum

esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis aruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri, in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spitheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

48. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat: namque alia belli facinora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant.

Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus alique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant in-

dicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit: Tarquini indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore qui existimarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius adpellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret; alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

49. Sed eisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque pretio neque gratia Ciceronem impellere quivere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maximis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant, usque eo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impulsus, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum in-

dicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant; Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque liberos suos, lectos et exercitatos [in audaciam], orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodiis tenebantur, et præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Tiberi Neronis iturum se dixerat, qui de ea re præsidiis additis referendum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujusce modi verba locutus est:

51. "Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubrici simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubricus possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, quæ reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsæ, male consuluerint; sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri contra lubricum animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida et adversa nobis fuit; sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuriæ causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item



bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses [et] in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quaerebant.

“Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, eis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt.

“Plerique eorum qui ante me sententias dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt: quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumerare; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati quae victoribus conlubuissent; fana atque domos spoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus; cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere.

“Sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt, fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse: sed plerique mortales postrema meminere; et in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum obliti, de poena disserunt si ea paulo severior fuit.

“D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non

crudelis — quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? — sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novom decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum praesertim, diligentia clarissimi viri consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possum equidem dicere — id quod res habet — in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis, quamobrem in sententia non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteteretur? An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exsilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris?

“At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quicquid evenerit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. Scilicet ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novom illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Ei primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri: post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos lubricinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere; ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla, cum Damasippum et alios ejus modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi

mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur; neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuere, aut quis moderabitur?

“Majores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstabat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore [Graeciae morem imitati] verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuerunt, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujusce modi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus.

“Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minime. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime opibus valent; neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.”

52. Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujusce modi orationem habuit:

“Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur

de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focus suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam cetera malificia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores: capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rem publicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.

“Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo: qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubricini male facta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat: opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit; sed haec cujuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? Jam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant.

“Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. Itaque censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet timens ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducti per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus

possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt.

“Nolite existumare majores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major copia nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulundo liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuum rem publicam.

“Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt, dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo — deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem — atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime: sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet deis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maximis periculis servaverunt. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agundo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt: ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae traderis, nequiquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium

suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit, atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae; si famae suae, si deis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. Postremo, patres conscripti, si (mehercules) peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis: sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urguet, alii intra moenia atque in sinu [urbis] sunt hostes, neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis properandum est.

“Qua re ego ita censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint, caedem incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumundum.”

53. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur: senati decretum fit sicut ille censuerat.

Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere, quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam saepe numero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patra-

visse, eoque factum uti divitiās paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effeta *vi* parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar. Quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

54. Igitur eis genus, aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium erat, in altero malis perniciēs: illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Caesar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare, negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat: non divitiis cum divite neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum innocente abstinence certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illa sequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul, optimum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, tres viros quae ad supplicium postulabat parare jubet: ipse, praesidiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est in carcere

locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus juncta, sed incultu, tenebris, odore, foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus praeceptum erat laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnae copiae concurrerant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse. 57. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque quos supra memoravi supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium inlexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina



per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam [Transalpinam].

At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expedito . . . . in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optimum factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum confligere. Itaque, conatione advocata, hujusce modi orationem habuit:

58. "Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hortere: timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos quo pauca monerem advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili aperirem.

"Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem adtulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo [in] loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet: quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Qua propter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis, et cum proelium inibitis memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient; neque locus, neque amicus quis-

quam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare.

"Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exsilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes expectare: quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquere vultis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio eis maximum est periculum qui maxime timent, audacia pro muro habetur.

"Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vostra aestumo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquantis."

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. Deinde, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat: ab eis centuriones omnis lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et calonibus propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur.

At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum

permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat; ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde [a] ferentariis proelium committi posset, maximo clamore [cum] infestis signis concurrunt: pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Catilina, postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneret quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disjecerat, paulo

divorsius *alis alibi stantes*, sed omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercerant.

Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat: nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant; fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.



## NOTES.

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### *Argument.*

CHAP. 1. Body and Spirit: the worth of each. — 2. The foundation of government: what is a true life? — 3. Sallust's motive in writing: the narrator no less than the actor of great deeds serves the state. — 5. The character of Catiline. — 6-9. Regal and consular Rome: the early valor and simplicity: comparison of Rome and Athens. — 10-13. Growth of power and luxury: Sulla's influence: corruption of the times after him. — 14-16. Catiline's profligacy and evil companions: his designs against the State. — 17. His plans and associates (B.C. 64). — 18, 19. His earlier designs, and how prevented (B.C. 66). — 20. Address to his associates. — 21, 22. His extravagant promises and oaths. — 23. Curius and Fulvia: her indiscreet reports. — 24. Catiline defeated at the polls: plans of armed insurrection. — 25. Sempronia. — 26. Catiline is baffled by Cicero: his second defeat. — 27, 28. His scheme of rousing Italy: Manlius at Fæsulæ. — 29-31. Action of the Senate: the general alarm. — 31, 32. Cicero's speech: scene in the Senate: Catiline quits Rome. — 33. Manlius's letter and appeal. — 34-36. Catiline appeals to Catulus: he joins Manlius. — 36-38. Condition of Rome: profligacy and ambition of the youth in the capital. — 39. Secret adherents of the plot. — 40, 41. Umbrenus tampers with the Allobroges. — 42, 43. Agitations in Italy: the conspirators Lentulus, etc. in Rome. — 44, 45. The plot is betrayed through the Allobroges to Cicero: arrest at the Mulvian bridge. — 46, 47. The conspirators interrogated, and put under arrest. — 48, 49. Charges made against Crassus and Cæsar. — 50. The matter is laid before the Senate. — 51. Speech of Cæsar, against a capital sentence. — 52. Reply of Cato. — 53, 54. These two men compared. — 55. The conspirators are strangled in the *Tullianum*. — 56, 57. Military plans of Catiline. — 58. His speech to his confederates. — 59. Disposition of the troops. — 60, 61. The battle: force of the conspirators exterminated.

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**1. omnis homines . . . decet, it is fitting for all men to strive,** etc. (for the acc. form in *is*, see §§ 11, i. 3, c; 16, 2, b: a still earlier form is found in *eis*). In this sentence, the accusative **omnis homines** is the subject of **niti** (§ 52, 4, b), and the clause **omnis . . . niti** is the subject of **decet** (§ 57, 8, a).

**sese præstare**, § 57, 8, d: the subj. accus. is rarely expressed with this verb: it may be rendered as object, *set themselves at the head*.

**student, aim to, are bent upon.** — **summa ope, with all effort.** — **ne . . . transeant** (§ 70, 3, e), *not to spend their life in silence*.

**silentio**, § 54, 7, b. — **pecora, brutes**, as devoid of reason: **animal** includes man (as implied in **ceteris**, above); **belua** is a monster, or the like. — **prona, grovelling**, i. e. with faces towards the earth. — **obœdientia, subservient**, lit. *hearkening* (**ob-audire**), as to a despotic master. — **finxit, has fashioned**.

**animo**, *the soul*, including both intellect, affections, and will. — **magis**, *rather* than the other way.

**alterum** . . . **alterum**, *the one* (soul) . . . *the other* (body).

**ingeni**, gen. (§ 10, 4, *b*). — **opibus**, *resources*. — **quam maxime**, *as much as possible* (elliptic, for *as much as the most*).

**fluxa**, *fleeting* (passing away of itself) ; **fragilis**, *frail* (exposed to accident).

**certamen**, *controversy*. — **vi-ne** . . . **procederet**, *whether war advances more by force of body*, etc. Here an indirect question is introduced by the interrog. particles **ne** and **an** (§ 71, 2) ; the verb **procederet** is in the subj. by § 67, 2, and in the imperfect (following **fuit**) by the sequence of tenses (§ 58, 10, *d*).

**incipias**, **consulueris**, subjunctive of general condition (§ 59, 5, *a*). — **consulto**, **facto**, § 54, 1, *d* : **consulto** refers to **animi**, and **facto** to **corporis** (chiastic order, § 76, 2, *f*). — **mature facto**, *speedy action*. — **indigens**, *helpless*.

§ 2. **initio**, *at the beginning*. — **nam**, i. e. I say kings, *because*, etc. — **divorsi**, *variously* (§ 47, 6) ; it is in appos. with both **pars** and **alii**, which are here correlative. — **ingenium**, *intellect*. — **exercebant**, *trained by exercise*.

**etiam tum**, i. e. even after kingdoms were established, and men no longer lived in the early simplicity. — **agitabatur** (more commonly **agebatur**), *was passed*. — **sua cuique**, etc. (the regular order), *each man was well satisfied with his own*.

**Cyrus** : Cyrus the Great (or the Elder), founder of the Persian Empire, B.C. 559. During his lifetime he brought all western Asia under his rule, and his successors conquered Egypt and parts of Europe.

**Lacedæmonii**. The Spartans were at the head of the Grecian States in the sixth century B.C., having conquered the Messenians and other neighboring communities. The leadership passed from Sparta to Athens after the Persian wars (B.C. 490-479), but was recovered by Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 404).

**urbis**, acc. plur. (§ 11, i. 4, *N*). — **lubidinem** (root LUB = love) . . . **habere**, *to make the lust of dominion a motive of war*. — **negotiis** (**nec otium**), *difficulties*. — **plurimum posse**, *has chief power*.

**animi virtus**, i. e. both mental and moral excellence. Strictly, **mens** is the *intellect*, and **animus** the *soul* (moral powers) ; but — especially from the Socratic doctrine that virtue and knowledge are the same — **animus** oftener means all the higher faculties as opposed to the bodily functions.

**ita valeret**, *were as potent*. — **æquabilis**, *more uniformly* ; **constantius**, *more steadily*.

*sese haberent, would keep themselves* (i. e. move, or simply be).—*aliud alio ferri, this thing driven one way, and that another.*

2. *artibus, qualities.*—*superbia, arrogance*, opposed to *æquitate, equal justice.*—*fortuna, etc.*, i. e. they became unlucky.

*optimum quemque*, i. e. in every case, every time a better man appears.

*quæ* (cognate acc.) . . . *parent, whatever ploughing, &c., men do, all is subject.*—*virtuti, sc. animi.*

*dediti ventri, given up to gluttony.*—*indocti, without knowledge; inculti, without breeding.*

*sicuti peregrinantes*, i. e. as if in a strange country, and ignorant of its laws.—*transiere*, § 58, 5, c.

*profecto, etc.*, clearly against nature.—*corpus . . . fuit, the body has been* [the source of] *pleasure, and the mind a burden* (dat of service, § 51, 5).

*eorum ego*, both emphatic.—*juxta, alike.*—*quoniam . . . siletur* (impersonal), *since both are lost in silence (oblivion); lit. silence-is-kept about both.*

*verum enimvero, but really.*—*is demum* (superl. of *de*), *he alone* (lit. *at last*; having gone through all the others).—*anima, breath of life.*

*facinoris*, in its rarer sense of *noble deed.*—*artis, profession* (as literature and the like).—*copia, variety.*

§ 3. *benè dicere, to speak well* (as an orator), a kind of play on the words *dicere* and *facere.*—*haud absurdum, not unbecoming* (a “*litotes*”), corresponding to *pulcrum, noble (beautiful).*

*pace, bello, loc. abl.* (§ 54, 10).—*clarum* (acc.) agrees with the subj. of *fieri*, which is not expressed.—*qui multi, many* [of those] *who* (§ 50, 2, R.<sup>3</sup>).

*mihi quidem, to me at least.*—*scribere, describe.*—*facta, etc.*, *the deeds must be matched by the words.*—*dehinc = deinde, in the second place.*

*quæ . . . reprehenderis* (gen. cond.), *whatever faults you blame = all your censure of faults.*—*dicta: spoken through ill-will and jealousy, agreeing with antecedent of quæ.*

*quæ . . . duoit*, i. e. *every man accepts what he thinks easy for himself to do.* The distributive (*quisque*) is in Latin generally put in the relative clause; in English, in the demonstrative.

*adolescens, when very young.*—*studio, by party feeling:* Sallust early allied himself with the popular party, headed by Julius Cæsar.—*ad rem publicam, into public life.*

*pro pudore, etc.*, observe the parallelism.—*largitio, lavish gifts* to the multitude.

*animus, my better nature.*—*insolens, etc., a stranger to evil arts.*



*imbecilla ætas*, age of weakness (lit. without staff), i. e. youth. — *tenebatur*, was possessed.

*cum*, while. — *moribus*, practices. — *honoris . . . eadem*, the same eagerness for public honors. — *eodemque*, etc., and the same fame or jealousy troubled me as [did] the others.

**3.** § 4. a republica procul, aloof from politics. — *consilium*, my design. — *socordia*, indolence (of mind); *desidia*, sloth. — *bonum otium*, my happy leisure.

*colundo*, the regular spelling of the gerund in Sallust's time. — *intentum*, agreeing with the subj. (me) of *agere*.

*sed . . . regressus*, i. e. but going back to the same undertaking and pursuit from which, etc. (§ 48, 3, b; for the use of the perf. part. see § 72, 1, b). — *eodem*, to the same point, i. e. the same purpose and zeal: antecedent of *quo* (§ 48, 3, b).

*carptim* (§ 41, 1, h), piecemeal, lit. picking out here and there. — *partibus* = *partisanship*.

*pauca absolvam*, I will acquit myself in a few words; lit. pay off, as a debt. — *de cujus hominis*, etc., a man of whose character, &c. — *prius . . . quam* = *first . . . before*.

§ 5. *Catilina*: His full name was Lucius Sergius Catilina. The Sergian gens, although of no distinction in history, was patrician, and therefore belonged to the oldest aristocracy. Virgil (*Æn.* v. 121) derives it from Sergestus, a companion of Æneas.

*nobili*, well known, from the same root (GNO) as *nosco*, meaning of high rank. — *ingens*, etc., of a bad and perverse (wrong-headed) nature.

*grata* (§ 47, 2, b), agreeing with *belli*, *œdes*, etc. — *ibi* (= in eis) . . . *exercuit*, in these he trained his youth.

*corpus* (sc. ei erat), etc., in body he was able to endure fasting, &c. (*inedia*, negative of *edo*, eat). — *supra quam*, beyond what: *supra*, with the other adverbs in *ra*, is a comparative form.

*audax*, reckless; *subdulus*, tricky; *varius*, versatile. — *cujus rei lubet* (= *cujuslibet rei*), of any thing you like (whatsoever).

*simulator*, feigning what is not; *dissimulator*, concealing what is (§ 16, 3, e).

*alieni appetens*, craving [what was] other men's (§ 50, 3, b). — *sapientiæ*, discretion. — *vastus animus*, insatiate temper.

*dominationem*, autocracy (regularly used of unlawful power).

*Luci Sullæ*: the dictatorship of Sulla was B.C. 82. Catiline was one of his most unscrupulous tools, and a number of bloody deeds are ascribed to him, as the murder of his own brother and brother-in-law, and especially of M. Marius Gratidianus, a kinsman both of Cicero, and of the famous general Marius.

*invaserat*, had possessed. — *rei publicæ captundæ*, of getting

control of state affairs. — *neque . . . habebat*, nor had he any regard (§ 50, 2, c) in what way he should gain it, provided he won himself royal power.

in dies, from day to day. — *quæ utraque*, both of which (generally singular, as here). — *artibus*, practices.

*incitabant*, etc., he was further impelled by, etc., changing to passive to keep the emphasis. — *divorsa inter se*, different from each other (§ 19, 3, d).

*res ipsa*, etc., the occasion (subject) itself seems to suggest.

4. *admonuit*, has reminded. — *supra repetere*, to trace further back. — *paucis* (abl. of manner), briefly.

*domi militiæque*, at home or in the field (§ 55, 3, d). In this familiar phrase, *militiæ* (also *belli*) does not at all imply actual warfare, but is used by way of contrast with the regular order of things within the city walls, to describe the field over which the war power and the laws of war have authority. Within the city (*domi*) the *imperium*, or power of the magistrate to command, is limited by certain provisions which are designed to protect the liberty of the individual, and this is so even in war: outside of the city (*militiæ*) these limitations do not exist, but the magistrate, even in peace, possesses full war powers. Within the city, the limitations might be suspended by the Senate in cases of great urgency, by ordering *Videant [darent operam] consules*, etc. (§ 29). This was equivalent to declaring martial law.

*habuerint*, maintained. — *flagitiosissima*, most scandalous (same root as *flagro*, blaze: used of a burning shame).

§ 6. *urbem . . . condidere*, the city was founded and occupied by, etc. (see note to *incitabant*, § 5).

*Trojani*: it is interesting to notice how completely Sallust's account of the origin of Rome differs from that generally received, which we find in Livy and Virgil. Sallust says nothing of Romulus and Alba Longa, but speaks of Rome as founded immediately by Æneas.

*profugi . . . vagabantur*, roamed as exiles, with no fixed homes (abl. of qualification), i. e. driven from one place to another.

*Aborigines* = indigenous, i. e. natives. The Roman antiquarians made much confusion by supposing that this epithet of the native Latins was the name of an independent earlier race, which formed the Latins by uniting with the foreign Trojans.

*agreste*, uncouth. — *sine imperio*, i. e. with no master, or ruler. — *solutum*, unrestrained (by law).

*una*, plural (§ 18, 1, a). — *alii alio more*, in various ways (§ 47, 9). — *quam . . . coalescerint*, interrog. clause, subj. of *est*.

*res eorum*, their state (commonwealth). — *civibus moribus*

*agris aucta*, increased in population, institutions, and territory. (When three or more words succeed one another in this way, a conjunction is either joined with *all* of them except the first, or more commonly with *neither* of them, as here.)

*pleraque mortalium*, most human things. (The style of Sallust is distinguished by the frequent use of the partitive genitive in preference to the simpler construction of agreement.)

*habentur* (= *se habent*, § 23, 3, N.), *are*.

*temptare*, would attack: histor. infin. (§ 57, 8, *h*), extremely common in Sallust. — *pauci*, only a few (always with this negative force). — *aberant*, kept aloof.

*intenti*, earnestly (*bent* upon their aim). — *dandis*, etc., abl. of means (§ 73, 3, *d*).

*imperium*, supreme power. — *legitimum*, not legitimate, but controlled by law. This famous passage, describing "a government of laws under the name of kingdom" may be very well applied to modern constitutional monarchies, like England.

*regium*, that of king (a kind of predicate: a possessive adjective is generally used in preference to the possessive genitive, § 46, 2, *c*).

*delecti*, chosen men (§ 47, 3, N.), agreeing with the antecedent of *quibus*, and subj. of *consultabant*.

*corpus annis infirmum*, in accordance with the etymology of Senate, as a body of old men; see Cicero, Cat. Maj. § 19.

*patres*, the term regularly applied to the senators; in this sense it could only be used in the plural. Strictly speaking, it applied only to the patrician senators.

*regium imperium*, the rule of kings. — *conservandæ libertatis*, i. e. a means of preserving, etc. (§ 73, 3, *a*). — *ei*, nominative.

*superblam*, arrogance; *dominationem*, tyranny. — *immutato more*, changing the method.

*annua imperia*: the date assigned to this revolution is B.C. 509. The change consisted not in materially lessening the power which had been exercised by the kings, but in limiting it to a year and dividing it between two elected magistrates, called at first *prætors*, afterwards *consuls*. — *insolescere*, i. e. acquire a lordly habit.

§ 7. *se extollere*, to aspire. — *in promptu*, ready for service. — *regibus*, emphatic, as opposed to consuls. — *aliena virtus*, other men's merit.

5. *adepta libertate*, when freedom was won (§ 35, 1, *g*).

*quantum brevi creverit*: in point of fact it took the republic a long time to regain the height of prosperity enjoyed under the Kings. The entire first century of the republic was occupied with petty wars with neighboring states: after this the conquests went rapidly on. — *incesserat*, had inspired (lit. come upon them).

*jam primum*, in the first place: the contrast is in *sed ubi*, § 10.

**simul ac** (§ 43, 3, a), etc., i. e. at the age of 17. — **per laborem usu** (§ 54, 4, b), laboriously by practice. — **decoria**, handsome. — **domuerat**, overmastered.

**certamen**, etc., the chief rivalry of glory was among themselves: it was not the foe's rivalry they feared. — **se quisque . . . ferire . . . properabat**, each was eager that he should be the one to strike, etc. (se, subj. of ferire). — **dum faceret**, while performing (subjunctive of intermed. clause, § 66, 2).

**eas, eam**, this (referring to ferire, etc., but agreeing with the predicate, § 47, 2, e). — **honestas** (opposed to **ingentem**), i. e. not great, as now, but honorable.

§ 8. **ex lubidine**, according to her fancy; **ex vero**, according to justice. — **celebrat**, makes famous.

**satis amplæ**, quite grand. — **verum tamen**, in truth, however.

**provenere**, sprang up (an agricultural term). — **scriptorum magna ingenia**, i. e. writers of great genius (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon).

**eorum qui fecere**, of the actors. — **sua bene facta**, his own worthy deeds: **ab aliis** is placed next to **sua** for the contrast; **ipse** agreeing with the subject of **malebat**, because none is expressed to narrare. — **prudentissimus**, ablest.

6. § 9. **certabant de**, vied in. — **supplicis**, prayers.

**artibus**, qualities. — **audacia . . . æquitate**: observe the chiasmic arrangement (§ 76, 2, f). — **vindicatum est in**, chastisement was inflicted on (see the case of T. Manlius Torquatus, told in § 52).

**vero**, on the other hand. This exaggerated and rhetorical sketch of the "good old times" is drawn to point a moral for the age of the historian, and will not bear too critical inspection.

§ 10. **nationes feræ**, barbarous tribes; **populi ingentes**, mighty nations.

**ab stirpe interiit**, perished root and branch. This was B.C. 146, which date may be fixed on for the acknowledged supremacy of Rome throughout the Mediterranean. It was just at this time, too, that the internal convulsions began which destroyed the republic in the century that followed. The war of classes first came to open violence in the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133.

**qui . . . toleraverant**, those who had lightly borne toils, perils, circumstances of doubt and hardship. — **eis**, antecedent of **qui**.

**optanda alias**, desirable under other circumstances.

**materies**, source: lit. stuff (the mother-substance) out of which any thing is made. Hence its usual meaning of timber.

**artis** (acc. plur.), qualities. — **deos neglegere** (same constr. with **superbiam** as obj. of **edocuit**, § 57, 8, a) = neglect of the gods.

**venalia habere**, to keep on sale. — **edocuit**, the subj. is **avaritia**.

**subegit, drove on.** — **ex re, according to fact, truly.**

**interdum vindicari** (histor. infin.), *were now and then chastised*, as for example in Hannibal's campaigns. — **contagio, etc., infection as of a plague.** — **ex justissimo, from [being] the most just** (a regular use of **ex**).

§ 11. **exercebat, influenced.** — **quod . . . vitium, a fault which.** — **ignavōs, worthless** (nom. sing. § 1, 2, b). — **ille, sc. bonus; huic, ignavo.**

**vera via nititur** (§ 54, 10, a), *struggles up by the path of truth.*

**7. doli . . . contendit, works his way by tricks and cheats.** —

**habet, has in it.** — **imbuta, infected.** — **effeminat, unmans.**

**L. Sulla, see note, § 5.** For the manner in which he abused his victory, see Cicero's oration for Roscius of Ameria. Sulla's policy — afterwards imitated by Cæsar — was to distribute his soldiers throughout Italy, attaching them to him by grants of land. The soldiers thus colonized still remained soldiers, so that "these colonies formed, as it were, the standing army of the Senate."

**bonis . . . habuit, from a good beginning** (a loose abl. of manner) *made an evil end.*

**neque . . . habere, and in victory owned neither bound** (outward restraint) *nor moderation* (self-control).

**huc accedebat quod, and besides** ("to this was added that").

**quo, § 64, 1, a.** — **liberaliter, i. e. by giving them plunder.** — **habuerat, had treated.**

**amœna, charming** (only in reference to the senses). — **in otio, in idleness.**

**primum insuevit, in fact, these excesses were common in the Roman armies, long before the time of Sulla.** — **amare, to intrigue.**

**signa, statues; tabulas pictas, pictures** (painted panels); **vasa cœlata, chased plate.** — **privatim, from individuals; publice, from cities.**

**nihil reliqui fecere, left no remnant.**

**quippe . . . temperarent, for prosperity overmasters the soul, [even] of the wise; much less** (ne, § 64, 1, b, R.) *did they* [the veterans of Sulla] *with their corrupt morals* (descriptive abl.) *put any check on victory* (dat.).

§ 12. **honori, § 51, 5.** — **eas** (emphatic) in opposition to **virtus.** — **imperium, sovereign power, or right to command; potentia** (the most general word), *power in its abstract sense.* — **sequebatur, began to follow.** — **hebescere, to lose its edge, or keenness.**

**innocentia pro malivolentiâ: i. e. those who refrained from wanton mischief were thought to do it only for the chance of attacking the others; as Macaulay says the Puritans abhorred bear-baiting, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."**

*juventutem invasere*, came upon the youth. — *rapere*, etc., histor. infin. — *consumere*, waste (in riotous living). — *promiscua*, without distinction. — *nihil . . . habere*, held nothing by weight or measure.

*operæ pretium est*, it is worth while. — *domos atque villas*, such as the country-house of Gabinius described by Cicero in his oration for Sestius, and the superb estate of Lucullus near Naples.

*verum*, etc., the true reason is that they, etc. — *victis*, dat. (§ 51, 2, e). — *injurias licentiam*, power to harm.

*victores*, implying *victis hostibus*, and so loosely opposed to *sociis*.

8. *proinde quasi*, just as if! — *id demum*, etc., that alone was to enjoy empire.

§ 13. *subvorsos montis*: this alludes in particular to the great engineering works about Baiæ (see Hor. Od. iii. 24); but the stock expression goes back to the works of Xerxes about Mount Athos and the Hellespont. — *constrata*, filled up, lit. strewn with earth spread over the bottom, in vast dikes and causeways.

*ludibrio*, mockery (object of jesting). — *lubido*, etc., the passion of debauchery, gluttony, and other refinements of vice (*cultus*). — *non minor*, i. e. no less than avarice.

*in propatulo*, in the market. — *vescendi*, i. e. of luxuries for the table. — *luxu antecapere*, forestall by luxurious indulgence.

*familiares opes*, i. e. their inherited wealth. — *imbutus*, tainted.

*haud facile carebat*, did not easily dispense with. — *eo profusius*, all the more lavishly. — *questul*, money-getting; *sumptul*, extravagance.

§ 14. *id quod* (§ 48, 3, e), as; (lit. a thing which). — *stipatorum*, satellites, who crowd about (*stipare*).

*patria laceraverat*, had destroyed his patrimony. — *quo redimeret*, so as to hire (by contract or bribe). — *manus . . . sanguine*, chiasitic. — *postremo*, in a word. — *consciens animus*, conscience. — *usu*, intercourse. — *fluxi*, plastic. — *studium*, passion.

9. *obnoxios*, dependent. — *cuiquam* (§ 21, 2, h), used on account of the negative implied in the comparison. — *foret* (§ 66, 1, R.), after *quam quod* = *non quod*. — *compertum*, brought home.

§ 15. *jam primum adolescens*, in his very earliest youth (emphatic: otherwise it would be Catilina, etc.). — *nefanda*, abominable: lit. not to be spoken of (*ne fari*).

*sacerdote Vestæ*: the six Vestal Virgins were maidens of noble family, consecrated to chastity and the service of Vesta, goddess of the Hearth. The one here mentioned was Fabia, sister-in-law of Cicero. "But Sallust should have added that Fabia was tried on the charge of *incestum*, and acquitted" (Long).

*captus, captivated.* — *cujus, in whom.* — *pro certo creditur:* no evidence, however, is found of this charge.

*quæ quidem res, and this very thing.* — *vastabat, desolated.* — *exsanguis, pallid.* — *foedi, i. e. dull and bloodshot.* — *prorsus, throughout.* — *vecordia, madness (ve, negative ; cor, intellect).*

§ 16. *villia habere, held cheap.* — *imperabat, imposed on them.* — *minus suppetebat, was not at hand.* — *scilicet (sarcastic), no doubt.* — *potius, i. e. rather than be idle.* These gratuitous crimes are probably an invention of malice ; as were no doubt some others which Sallust does not report, for example that of his marriage with his own illegitimate daughter, said to have been made against him by Cicero. Sallust was now a young man of about twenty, and doubtless kept a lively recollection of the scandals of the time.

*res alienum, debt ("other men's money").* — *Sullani milites,* see note, § 11. — *largius . . . usi, having spent their wealth too profusely.*

**Cn. Pompeius :** Pompey (whose military genius had been seen and encouraged by Sulla) was appointed by the Gabinian law, B.C. 67, to the command of the formidable war against the pirates, whose head-quarters were in Cilicia. This command gave him authority over all the fleets of the Mediterranean. In the following year the Manilian law, advocated by Cicero, gave him the further command of the war against Mithridates, in Asia Minor. It was in this year (B.C. 66) that Catiline's first "conspiracy" was formed, the intention being to get control of the government as consul on the approaching new year.

*nihil sane intentus, not at all in earnest (in opposition).* — *tutæ, undisturbed (by war).*

**10. § 17. Kal. Jun.** The consular election generally took place in July, so that this was a suitable time to begin electioneering.

**L. [Julio] Cæsare, C. [Marcio] Figulo :** L. Cæsar was a distant relative of the dictator, son of the consul of B.C. 90 (see oration for Archias), and uncle of the triumvir Mark Antony. This was B.C. 64, the year preceding Cicero's consulship.

*singulos appellare, to address individuals.* — *opes, resources.* — *imparatam, i. e. the unprepared condition of.* — *docere, to exhibit.*

*eo, to this meeting.* — *ordinis, rank* (see notes to Cicero's Select Orations, p. 19, on "The Roman Aristocracy.")

**P. [Cornelius] Lentulus** had been consul B.C. 71, but was expelled from the Senate the next year on account of his immoralities. He was elected to the prætorship for 63. Of the conspirators of high rank, Lentulus, says Mommsen, was "an ordinary aristocrat of big words and great pretensions, but slow in conception and irresolute in

action; Autronius distinguished for nothing but his powerful screaming voice; while as to Lucius Cassius, no one could comprehend how a man so corpulent and so simple had fallen among the conspirators. But Catiline could not venture to place his abler partisans, such as the young senator Caius Cethegus and the equites Lucius Statilius and Publius Gabinius Capito at the head of the movement; for even among the conspirators the traditional hierarchy of rank held its ground, and the very anarchists thought that they should be unable to carry the day unless a consular or at least a prætorian were at their head."

Cassius was, with Catiline and Cicero, a candidate for the consulship for B.C. 63. The two Sullas were nephews of the dictator. L. Vargunteius is called by Cicero (Cat. I. 9) *eques Romanus*; it was he and C. Cornelius that undertook to assassinate Cicero in his bed. Of the other conspirators nothing special need be said.

**colonia, municipia**; colonies were established by the Roman government to serve as permanent military posts; *municipia* were Italian towns which had lost their original independence, been absorbed in the Roman State, and received Roman citizenship. At this time there was no longer any material difference between the two except in name. (See notes to Cicero, p. 5).

**domi nobiles**, of rank at home: however insignificant at the capital, they were leading men in their own communities.

**occultius** (adv.) limits **participes**, more secretly sharing in.

**nobiles, noblemen**: the Roman nobility consisted of those whose ancestors had held high offices of State. Thus Cicero, being a "new man" (*novus homo*), was not strictly a member of the nobility.

**ceterum, further**. — **quibus copia erat, who had means** (followed by *vivere*). — **quam, rather than** (following *magis*, contained in *malebant*, § 37, 3).

**M. Licinium Crassum**: a nobleman of high rank and enormous wealth, which he had got by speculating in real estate at the time of the terrorism of Sulla's proscriptions. He was possessed by an uneasy military and political ambition, and had won some credit as commander against the revolted slaves under Spartacus, B.C. 71. He managed to get into office by the influence of his money, and by allying himself with more competent men, as Pompey (B.C. 71 & 60) and Cæsar (B.C. 60). His inordinate ambition carried him at last into an enterprise too large for his powers, against the Parthian Empire, in which he lost his life, B.C. 53. His connection, as well as Cæsar's, with the reckless schemes of Catiline (see §§ 48, 49) is very doubtful, though believed by many scholars. It is not unlikely in itself, as both were ambitious and unscrupulous men, and knew, as Sallust says (§ 39), that the ablest and boldest man would in the end reap the fruits of the conspiracy: and that was Cæsar.



**invisus** : although Pompey and Crassus had joined hands and held the consulship together in B.C. 70, yet this was only a temporary suspension of their rivalry, and indeed the year was distracted by their discussions.

**ductabat** = **dux erat**. — **cujusvis**, *anybody's*. — **voluisse**, *sc. eum*, i. e. Crassus. — **illius**, Pompey's.

§ 18. **Catilina**, i. e. in B.C. 66. — **Tullo** : L. Volcatius Tullus and M'. Æmilius Lepidus were consuls, B.C. 66.

**P. Sulla**, not to be confounded with the conspirator of the same name, mentioned in the last chapter. This man too was a kinsman of the dictator, and a man of worthless character ; but his participation in the conspiracy was at any rate doubtful, and he was defended on the charge by Cicero, and acquitted.

**designati consules**, *consuls elect*, i. e. for B.C. 65. — **ambitus**, *bribery* in elections (the technical term), from *going about* among the electors : hence the word *ambition*. — **legibus**, *under the laws* relating to *ambitus*. — **interrogati**, *impeached* ; a technical expression.

**pœnas** : this was a final and perpetual exclusion from office and from the Senate. After their conviction, their competitors, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, were elected in their stead.

**pecuniarum repetundarum**, *lit. of demanding back the moneys*, i. e. *for extortion* : the process by which the governors of provinces could be called to account by their oppressed subjects. The most notorious case is that of Catiline's friend Verres, B.C. 70. Catiline's extortions were as pro-prætor of Africa. — **reus**, *brought to trial*.

**intra legitimos dies** : notice of candidacy must be given within a *trinundinum* (17 days) of the election. This Catiline did ; but the consul Tullus refused to receive his name, on the ground of the impending charges, though no formal accusation had yet been brought. The expression is therefore not quite exact : he had offered himself at the proper time, but the act was not allowed as valid.

**Cn. Piso**, of the Calpurnian gens. — **cum hoo**, *with him*.

**11. nonas Decembris** : when Piso entered on the quæstorship (see next chapter). The Nones of every month, except March, May, July, and October, were the 5th, on these months the 7th. On the Nones of December the new quæstors entered on office, so that the interval between this day and the Kalends of January when the consuls, etc., took their seat, belonged in a sense to both political years.

**in Capitolio** : the inauguration of the new consuls took place on the Capitol, in the midst of a great concourse, with solemn formalities and the sacrifice of a white ox. Afterwards a meeting of

the Senate was held in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, also on the Capitoline; this was the formal opening of the new administration.

**fascibus**, the *fascēs*, bundles of rods enclosing an axe; the regular instruments of punishment for Roman citizens, and hence the symbol of the chief power of State.

**duas Hispanias**: i. e. *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, separated by the Iberus, the old boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territory. This was an important portion of the empire, and its possession was vigorously disputed between the parties of Marius and Sulla. The Marian commander, Sertorius, held Spain long after the rest of the empire had succumbed to Sulla.

**nonas februarias**, the 5th of February; really two or three months later, on account of the confusion of the calendar.

**jam tum machinabantur**, by this time they began to plot.—**maturasset**, had been in too great haste.—**frequentes**, in any numbers.

**pro curia**: the *Curia Hostilia*, on the north of the Forum, was the regular place of meeting for the Senate.

§ 19. **quæstor pro prætore**, *quæstor with the powers of prætor*. The prætors were judicial magistrates—at this time eight in number—who ranked next to the consuls, and could in case of need act in their stead. Like them, too, their power (*imperium*) was extended (*prorogatum*) a second year with executive functions in the provinces (*pro prætore*, *proprætor*). Occasionally, as in this case, inferior magistrates were invested by the Senate with the *imperium*, and sent *pro prætore* to govern provinces. The quæstors were officers of the lowest grade, who had charge of the treasury in the city, and the military chest abroad.

**infestum**, troublesome, actively hostile.

**provinciam dederat**: the Senate assigned the several provinces to the prætors.—**foedum**, i. e. regarding him as a nuisance at home.

**boni** (emphatic), the usual term to describe the *optimates*, or members of the aristocratic party. Pompey was at this time identified with the *populares*, or democratic faction.

**in eo**, i. e. *Piso*.—**jam tum erat**, was now getting to be.—**iter faciens**, while on a march.

**veteres clientis**: Pompey had great influence in Spain, from having commanded there, and brought the war against Sertorius to an end, B.C. 72. In Rome, clients were men of inferior rank, who voluntarily became the dependants and followers of some noble. But men of rank in a province or municipal town might stand in the relation of client to a powerful nobleman at Rome. This charge against Pompey would naturally come from a partisan of Cæsar, like Sallust; but it is without foundation.

*imperia sæva* : there were many examples of cruelty and perfidy on the part of the Roman rulers in Spain. On one occasion, at least, the Spaniards had in requital murdered a governor who was far less obnoxious than this Piso.

*in medio relinquemus*, *I will leave undetermined*. — *satis dictum* : and not much at that.

§ 20. *in rem fore*, *would be to the purpose*. — *univorsos*, *all together*. — *orationem* : the speech, of course, is fictitious, as usual in ancient historians.

¶ 1. *spectata*, *proved*. — *per ignaviam*, *through cowardice* (opposed to *virtus*) ; *vana ingenia*, *false hearts* (opposed to *fides*).

12. *captarem*, *grasp at*. — *tempestatibus*, *occasions*. — *eo*, *from this*. — *vobis . . . esse*, i. e. the peril and the hope are yours as much as mine. — *ea demum*, *this alone*.

¶ 2. *divorsi*, *separately*. — *nosmet vindicamus in libertatem*, *assert our own freedom* : an idiomatic expression, derived from the legal mode of freeing slaves by bargain and sale.

*postquam*, *ever since*. — *in paucorum . . . dicionem*, *to the jurisdiction and sway of a few strong men*. The republic had of late years come completely under the control of a few wealthy families (*nobiles*), so that men of low birth were almost excluded from a political career. Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and Cassius, however, had no reason to complain of this, since they were all members of the oligarchy, and all of these but Cassius were patricians.

*tetrarchæ*, originally governors of the fourth part of a country, as of Thessaly and Galatia. The title came to be applied in general to petty princes, of not sufficient importance to be called kings.

*vectigales*, *tributary* : the provincial governorships were all in the hands of nobles, and they made use of them to squeeze out money from the provincials. There is also no doubt a reference to the bribes received by the governors.

*esse*, *histor. infin.* — *ceteri omnes*, *all the rest of us*. — *gratia*, *personal favor* ; *auctoritas*, *official (or political) influence*. — *res publica*, *the principles of the republic*.

*judicia*, *lawsuits*. — *inhonestam*, *dishonored*. — *alienæ . . . ludibrio*, *the sport of other men's insolence*.

¶ 3. *verum enimvero*, *but in truth*. — *cetera res expediet*, *the event shall provide the rest*. — *cui*, etc., *who has the spirit of a man*.

*superare*, *remain*. — *extrudendo mari*, see note, § 12. — *continuare*, *build in a row*.

*larem* : originally a deified ancestor, *lar familiaris*, the first ancestor, the founder of the house and its tutelar spirit. So cities had their *lares*, in their mythical founders : and the *lares compitales*

(of the *compita*, cross-roads) were the guardian spirits of the districts. To have no *lar familiaris* is therefore to have no home.

*summa lubidine, with all their wantonness* ("lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes, and pride of life"). — *vincere, outstrip*.

¶ 4. *quin*, interrog. in form, but really an emphatic appeal. — *en illa, so then there is*. — *præterea, and besides*. — *posuit, has set up* (as a prize: the regular word). — *belli spolia*, i. e. those that should be obtained by war.

13. *neque . . . aberit*, i. e. *I will be with you, body and soul*. — *consul*: Catiline intended to be again this year a candidate for the consulship. — *agam, I will discuss*.

§ 21. *res, property*. — *quieta movere, disturb the peace*. — *magna merces, a great prize*. — *condicio, terms*. — *opis, resources*.

*tabulas novas, new settlements*, that is, a general abolition of debts: the technical term for an arbitrary law, reducing or destroying debts by ordering a new account (*tabulæ*).

*proscriptionem*, strictly, *advertising this property for sale*; but since Sulla's time placarding their names for slaughter.

*magistratus*; i. e. the consulship, prætorship, curule ædileship, and quæstorship: these were called the patrician magistracies, and were almost exclusively held by members of the aristocracy. The tribunate is probably not included, as that was open to men of low rank at any rate.

*sacerdotia*: the chief priesthoods were the offices of *pontifex* and *augur*; but besides these, the *epulones*, seven in number, had the direction of the sacred feasts, and the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* were in charge of the Sibylline books, and had a dignity and influence which would be eagerly sought by greedy and ambitious men. The other priesthoods, which could be held only by patricians those of *rex sacrificulus*, *flamen*, etc., cannot be meant here. — *fert, brings with it*.

*Pisonem*: it would appear from this passage that he held command in Spain for some time before his assassination (see § 19).

*Nucerinum, of Nuceria*, in Campania, the regular way to express residence in Latin. Cicero (pro Sulla, § 58) defends him of the charge of complicity in the conspiracy, calling him *amicus vetus atque hospes*. "He was one of the *Condottieri* of those days, such a man as we read of in the Italian history of the fourteenth and fifteenth century" (Long). He fought on Cæsar's side in the civil war.

*C. Antonium*, the colleague of Cicero: son of the great orator, and uncle of the triumvir. He was a worthless character.

*esse, infin. depending on the verb of saying implied in polliceri*.

**petere**, was a candidate for (the regular term). — **circumventum**, hard pressed.

**inrepabat**, assailed. — **nominans landare**, extolled by name. — **susæ**, referring to **allum**. — **compluris**, acc. — **ea . . . fuerat**, that [victory] had been [a source of] plunder (dat.).

**postquam**, as soon as. — **petitionem**, candidacy. — **oursæ**, dat.

§ 22. **popularis** (acc.), accomplices.

**exsecrationem**, an oath (containing a curse). — **dictitare** (historical infinitive), they say. — **quo . . . magis**, § 64, 1, a. — **alius alii** (dat.), to one another.

**invidiam**, unpopularity, arising from his severity, especially in putting to death the leading conspirators without trial (see § 55).

14. **pœnas dederant**, i. e. had been put to death. Punishment is regarded as of the nature of a fine or forfeit: hence **dare**, to suffer, and **sumere**, to inflict.

**nobis** (emphatic), § 51, 4, b. — **pro magnitudine**, etc., is not sufficiently authenticated, considering its importance.

§ 23. **haud obscuro loco**: the Curii were an eminent plebeian gens. — **flagitiis coopertus** (= **coöpertus**), buried in infamy.

**censores**: magistrates elected two at a time, theoretically once in five years, but in fact at quite irregular intervals. They held office for eighteen months, during which time they regulated the customs-duties and other finances of the State, and made out the list of the Senators, which regulations were to continue in operation until the next censors. The censors here referred to were probably Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius (B.C. 70), those by whom P. Lentulus had been expelled from the Senate (see note, § 17). — **probri gratia**, on the ground of scandal.

**vanitas**, folly (empty-headedness). — **prorsus**, and absolutely.

**neque quicquam pensi habebat**, "made no bones."

**Fulvia**: the Fulvii were an eminent plebeian gens.

**cui . . . esset**, and being less favored by her. — **inopia**, through poverty. — **maria montisque**, as we say "oceans of money" and "mountains of gold." — **obnoxia**, submissive. — **foret**, for eris of dir. disc.

**sublato auctore**, saying nothing of her authority. — **æstuabat**, chafed. — **pollui** = **pollutum iri**. — **stupri**, etc., an old intrigue.

**homo novus**; as distinguished from **nobilis**, one none of whose ancestors had held high magistracies. He who in any family first attained office was called *princeps nobilitatis*, and his descendants were *nobiles*.

**invidia**, jealousy. — **post**, in the background.

§ 24. **comitiis habitis**, when the elections were held. The chief magistrates were elected in the *comitia centuriata* (centuriate

comitia), in which the people voted by *centuries*, each century having one vote. The number of centuries is not certainly known, but was probably 373; and they were organized partly by wealth, partly by birth or residence, and partly by age. At this election the principal competitors of Cicero and Antonius were the conspirators Catiline and Cassius.

*locis opportunis*, § 55, 3, f. — *fidē, on credit*. — *sumptam mutuum*, *procured as a loan*.

*Fæsulas*, an old town in the extreme north of Etruria. Its ruins are still seen at *Fiesole*, on a very high and steep hill near Florence. This Manlius acted as Catiline's lieutenant until the arrival of his chief. He was an old soldier of Sulla, "as brave and as free from scruples of conscience as was ever any soldier of fortune."

*stupro, by prostitution*. — *toleraverant*, i. e. had been able to bear. — *tantum . . . fecerat*, *had put a limit only to their gains, but not to their [passion for] luxury*. — *servitia*, *troops of slaves*.

**15.** § 25. *Sempronia*, wife of Decimus Junius Brutus, and mother of D. Brutus Albinus, who was one of the conspirators against Cæsar.

*genere, family*: The Sempronii were a plebeian *gens* of great distinction; the Gracchi, among others, belonged to it. It may be noticed that this whole description of Sempronia seems out of place here, — foisted in, one might suspect, to gratify Sallust's grudge against the assassin of Cæsar.

*psallere*, etc., dependent on *docta*. — *probæ, an honest woman*. Perhaps the Roman dances were worse than ours; at any rate they were looked on with extreme disfavor by respectable people.

*minus parceret*, *was less careful of*. — *haud discerneres*, *you could not have told* (§ 60, 2, R.).

*creditum abjuraverat*, *had denied a trust on oath*. — *haud absurdum*, *by no means contemptible*. — *molli, procaci*, i. e. the affected "soft" or "fast" talk of gallants.

§ 26. *in proximum annum*, *for the new year*, i. e. B.C. 62.

*designatus, elected*: the consul elect enjoyed much of the dignity and influence of an actual magistrate. — *ex voluntate*, *at his will*. — *illi*, Cicero.

*pactione provinciæ*: the procedure in the assignment of provinces (established by a law of Caius Gracchus) was that the Senate first selected two for the consuls to govern after their term of office as proconsuls (*pro consulibus*): the consuls then drew lots for these, and the prætors for those remaining. On this occasion, Cicero drew Macedonia, one of the wealthiest and most desirable of the provinces, and Antonius Cisalpine Gaul. By making an exchange, Cicero gained over his colleague to coöperate against Catiline.

line : he himself then declined to take his province, preferring to remain in Rome.

**perpulerat**, *had prevailed on* (with difficulty) ; **ne sentiret**, *not to side with* (a common word, for political views ; so **sententia**, *vote*).

**dies comitiorum** : this was Oct. 28 ; the consuls elect were D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. — **foeda**, *ill-starred* (of evil omen), like **obscenum**.

§ 27. **Camertem**, the adjective (irregular) of **Camerinum**, a town of Umbria : it was close to the Picene territory, which lay on the Adriatic.

**16. præterea . . . credebat**, *and such persons, besides, to one place and another, as he thought would be of service to him*.

**tendere**, fig. from spreading nets. — **cum telo esse**, *went armed* (a technical phrase). — **item**, i. e. to do the same.

**intempesta nocte**, *at the dead of night* : it was Nov. 6 (this year about the middle of January). This occurrence is given here out of its place ; it should not come in until after the events narrated in the first half of chap. 51.

**oppressisset** : in dir. disc. **oppressero** (§ 59, 4, c).

§ 28. **Senator** : Cicero (Cat. I. § 9) calls Vargunteius an *eques*, perhaps because he had been elevated by Sulla among his creatures, compare note to § 17. — **sicuti**, *just as if*.

**salutatum** : it was the custom for Roman noblemen to hold receptions early in the morning, for the purpose of attending to various business and receiving the greetings of their clients.

**dolore injuriæ**, *resentment at wrong*. The people of Etruria had been largely dispossessed of their lands by Sulla, to enable him to provide for his veterans.

**novarum rerum**, *change*, i. e. *revolution*, compare **movandi**, § 50.

§ 29. **ancipti**, *double-headed* (amb-caput). — **longius** = **diutius**. — **neque satis compertum habebat**, *and had not fully ascertained* (§ 72, 3, b).

**17. rem . . . refert**, the technical expression for bringing business before the Senate.

**in atroci negotio**, i. e. when some act of extreme severity is to be done.

**decrevit**, *ordered* : the formula that follows is that regularly used for intrusting the consuls with dictatorial power. It was equivalent to declaring martial law. (See note, § 5. The words of the decree are directly copied, with change of tense : hence the conj. **ut** is not used.)

**ea potentia**, etc., *thus a power, &c.* ; **maxima** being strictly a kind of predicate.

**judicium summum**, *the final appeal* in question of right.

**nullius earum rerum** : this is not exact. It was only *domi*, "within the city," that the power of the consul was thus limited ; "abroad" (*militiæ*), he regularly possessed all that power by virtue of his office (*jussu populi*). The decree only gave the same power at home that he already had abroad. All the real force therefore of the description here given is summed up in *coercere civis, domi imperium, etc., habere*.

§ 30. **ante diem vi.**, i. e. Oct. 27. — **id quod, as.**

**portenta** : the Romans were excessively superstitious in such matters. In fact, their whole polity rested on the *auspices* ; and the *portents* interpreted by these were often the most insignificant accidents.

**conventus, meetings** of any kind : here, secret meetings of conspirators, probably in the country districts of Italy, where there was an old jealousy of Rome. In Capua, especially, the second town in Italy, and the old rival of Rome, constantly deprived of all effective self-government by the jealousy of Rome (see Cicero's Second Oration on the Agrarian law), there would be a readiness to throw off Roman rule. Apulia was a grazing country, consisting in the main of public land, which was rented to capitalists, and left in charge of gangs (*familie*) of slaves.

**moveri**, *was stirred up*. — **senati**, old gen. (§ 12, 3, a).

**Q. Marcius Rex**, cos. 68 ; **Q. Metellus Creticus**, cos. 69 : he was the fast friend of Verres at the time of his trial the year before.

**circum** (here equivalent to an adjective), *the places around*.

**ad urbem, near the city** : not in it, because as *imperatores* they could not enter the city without losing their right to a triumph. They had, as proconsuls, governed provinces after the expiration of their consulship (Rex had Cilicia and Metellus Crete), and had returned home with sufficient military success to warrant the honor of a triumph. This was hindered, however, *calumnia paucorum* (especially of Pompey, who regarded them as his lieutenants in virtue of the Gabinian and Manilian Laws), and they were waiting for the matter to be decided. If they entered the *pomerium*, or city enclosure, their prorogued *imperium*, or military command, would expire by that very act. They remained therefore in the neighborhood (*ad urbem*) with their armies, and attended to necessary public business by summoning the Senate to meet them in some temple outside the walls.

**prætores, sc. missi sunt.**

**Pompeius**, an unimportant character ; **Celer**, a prominent member of the aristocracy, cos. B.C. 60 : he died the year following.

**ut** earlier form of **ut** (probably an old locative). — **pro . . . periculo** = *considering the peril of the time*.



**ad hoc, besides :** supply **decrevere**, from below. — **indicavisset**, for **indicaverit** of direct disc. — **facta erat**, § 67, 1, *b*. — **præmium**, as a reward, belonging to both **servo** and **libero**.

**sestertia :** a **sestertium** = 1000 **sestertii**, about \$50: the sum is therefore about \$10,000.

**gladiatoriae familiae, bands of gladiators.** The gladiators were slaves, who were trained in schools to the profession of prize-fighters. They were owned by persons who furnished them for pay. Capua was a head-quarters of this business.

**pro cuiusque opibus :** i. e. they were billeted on the towns in proportion to their wealth.

**minores magistratus :** this term is sometimes applied to all magistrates below the prætors, i. e. the ædiles, tribunes, and quæstors. Here, however, it probably means a lower grade still, especially the *tres viri capitales* or *nocturni*, who had charge of the police.

§ 31. **civitas**, i. e. the citizens ; **urbis**, i. e. the city itself.

**diuturna quies :** i. e. since the great civil war of Marius and Sulla, the last outbreak of which was B.C. 78, fifteen years before.

**omnia**, acc. plur.

**festinare**, etc. (histor. infin.), § 49, 2, *b*.

**18. afflictare sese, would beat their breasts.** — **miserari**, bewail (the fate of).

**lege Plautia, sc. de vi ;** a law passed B.C. 89, which formed the basis of all later legislation upon the punishment of public disturbances. Such cases were tried in one of the special courts (*quaestiones*).

**L. Paulo :** L. Æmilius Paulus, son of the democratic consul, M. Lepidus (B.C. 78), and brother of the triumvir. He was himself a strong aristocrat. This trial *de vi* never came off.

**sicubi . . . foret, in case he should be attacked** (slandered) *in a personal quarrel* (he wished to make an explanation).

**M. Tullius, sc. Cicero. — orationem :** this was the first oration against Catiline: the date was Nov. 8, B.C. 63. — **quam . . . edidit**, which he afterwards wrote out and published (as was the custom).

**ut erat paratus, ready as he was.** — **demisso voltu, with face downcast.**

**patribus**, a general expression for the senators, strictly belonging only to those of patrician birth.

**temere, hastily.** — **ea, ita**, both correlative to **ut**. — **ortum, sc. se esse.** — **in spe, in expectancy.** — **cujus ipsius, on whose own part**, etc. (gen. limiting *beneficia*).

**perdita republica opus esse, there was need of destroying the republic** (§ 72, 3, *a*).

**inquilinus** appears to be the adjective of *incola* (qu = c), an *in-*

*migrant*, one who had his *domicilium* in some other than his native city. (Kuhn, *Verf. des Römischen Reichs*, i. p. 5.) Cicero was born in Arpinum, and had gone to Rome to live. Still he was in no true sense an *incola*, because Arpinum had possessed Roman citizenship since B.C. 188.

**obstreperare**, *drowned his voice*.

**parricidam**: this word (derived from *pater cædo*) was precisely equivalent in meaning to our *parricide*. In familiar speech, however, the term was extended to all crimes which were tried by the same court as parricide. Crimes of violence were in early times punished by money fines, and it would appear that the horrible crime of murder of a parent was for some time the only one which received a heavier punishment. The process against parricide proper was by degrees extended to common murder, and even other crimes of a religious nature. "The most important point [in the development] was without doubt that in which an end was put to all vengeance by blood, by introducing the process of parricide against every one charged with homicide" (Rubino, *Untersuchungen über Römische Verfassung und Geschichte*, p. 464).

**incendium . . . restinguam**, i. e. *I will stop my own house from burning by tearing down my neighbors' houses*.

§ 32. **curia**: the Senate met regularly in the *Curia Hostilia*, on the north side of the Forum.

**neque** (correl. to **et**), *on the one hand, not*. — **insidiæ consuli**, *plots against the consul* (§ 51, 6, e). — **proceedebant**, *made any headway*.

**legiones scriberentur**: of course the regular legions of the year had been levied long before; this refers to the new levies to be raised by Pompeius and Metellus Celer (§ 30).

**promptam (pro emo)**, *ready*: i. e. taken out of the store and ready for distribution by the steward (*promus*).

**19. prope diem**, *at an early day*. — **sese adcoessurum**, dependent on the verb of *saying* implied in **mandat**.

§ 33. **mandatis**, *message*. — **feneratorum**, *usurers*. Extravagant young men of good family were then, as now, the prey of money-lenders.

**patriæ expertes**, probably a loss of citizenship by reason of insolvency. It may also refer to voluntary exile.

**neque cuiquam**, etc. The laws of debt in Rome, as well as in Greece, were very harsh: the delinquent debtor was adjudged (*addictus*) to his creditor, to be treated by him as a slave. This severity was mitigated by the *Lex Patelia*, B.C. 326 or thereabout, but was not entirely removed until a bankrupt act, *Lex Julia*, of a period later than Sulla. In all such cases a good deal was left to the discretion of the magistrate, the prætor: the complaint here is

that the strictness (*sævitia*) of the prætor — i. e. the *prætor urbanus*, the judge in cases between citizens in administering the laws — did not allow the debtor to take all the advantages (*lege uti*) permitted by custom (*more majorum*): so that they were left to the rigor (*sævitia*) of the creditors. These not only took their estate (*amisso patrimonio*), but their personal freedom (*liberum corpus habere*).

**opitulati sunt** (OPI TUL in *tollo, tuli*), *came to the relief*: this appears to refer to the laws of C. Gracchus and others, by which corn was sold to the poor at a rate below cost.

**novissimum**, *very lately*: a law passed by L. Valerius Flaccus, successor of Marius in the consulship, B.C. 86, provided that debts should be cancelled by the payment of a fourth of their value; that is, the silver *sestertius* should be paid with a copper *as* (*argentum ære*); the *sestertius* being equal to four *asses*. To say that this was done *volentibus omnibus bonis*, seems like a huge joke.

**sæpe . . . secessit**, *the plebs many times withdrew in arms*, etc. This was done three times. The first time (B.C. 494) their demands were satisfied by the institution of their special magistrates, the tribunes; the last time (B.C. 287) by the Hortensian Law, which gave to votes of the *plebs* (*plebi scita*) the force of laws.

**consulatis**, following **obtestamur**, § 70, 3, f, R. — **maxime ult**, etc., i. e. *having sold our lives most dearly*.

§ 34. **ea**, correl. with **ut**: *of such gentleness and mercy*. — **peti-verit**, § 58, 10, c.

**consularibus**, *ex-consuls*. An ex-magistrate always retained the rank of the office which he had held, as *consularis*, *prætorius*, *ædilicius*, etc. These constituted a body of men of influence, apart from the rest of the Senate.

**ex itinere**, *on the road*. — **litteras**, *a letter*, i. e. a circular. — **optimo cuique**, *to all the best men* (in position).

**Massiliam**, *Marseilles*, a very ancient Greek colony in Gaul, always in the closest and friendliest relations with Rome. It was a favorite place of exile for those who were banished from Rome or left it voluntarily to escape severer punishment. Catiline, however, had no notion of going thither.

**20. proficiaci**, *was setting out*. — **non quo** (§ 66, 1, R.), *not that he was conscious, &c.*, nor (**neve**) *that*, etc.

**Catulus**: Q. Lutatius Catulus was the acknowledged leader of the senatorial or aristocratic faction, and second to none in purity and uprightness of character. He was consul B.C. 78, with M. Lepidus (see note, § 31), whose democratic schemes he successfully resisted. His father, of the same name and similar reputation, was consul with Marius, B.C. 102, and gained with him the great victory over the Cimbri the next year: he was afterwards assassinated by command of Marius in the civil war, B.C. 87.

**longe divorsas litteras**, a very different letter. — **redditas**, delivered: the regular word for the delivery of a letter, the bearer having first received it. — **earum exemplum**, a copy of this.

§ 35. **Catulo**: the regular way of addressing a letter, usually with **S.** (*Salutem*), **S. D.** (*Salutem dicit*), or the like.

**egregia . . . tribuit**, your singular fidelity, known [to me] by experience [re] — a grateful thing to me in my great perils — gives confidence to my appeal.

**in novo consilio**, before a strange tribunal, i. e. the Senate: an adroit stroke, and good law too; for the Senate had no judicial power, while Cicero had really made it the judge.

**non statui**, I have not made up my mind.

**satisfactionem**, explanation (not a formal defence).

**conscientia de culpa**, consciousness of guilt. — **proponere**, put forward.

**me dius fidius**, sc. *juvet*, by my faith. *Dius* (= *deus*) *Fidius*, the spirit of faith, perhaps a Latin translation of the Sabine *Semo Sancus*, had a temple on the Quirinal hill, and was commonly appealed to by the Romans in oaths.

**statum . . . obtinebam**, I could not maintain the position due to my rank, — a somewhat loose reference to the consulship, which his position entitled him to, and which might be considered his political *status*, by losing which he became degraded.

**miserorum**, i. e. insolvent debtors: always a numerous class, and a very important one in revolutionary politics.

**meis nominibus**, my own debts, i. e. in my own name. The plural is explained by the name being on the books of the several creditors.

**alienis nominibus**, others' debts, i. e. for which he had been security, and which Orestilla seems to have paid from her own and her daughter's means.

**non dignos** (stronger than **indignos**), i. e. such men as Cicero.

**honore honestatos**, honored with honors (of office). This alliteration affects the antique style. — **alienatum**, set aside.

**hoc nomine**, etc., on this ground I have attained hopes lofty enough for my circumstances.

**plura**: these words show that the letter was written, or at any rate was to be understood as being written, in Rome.

**cum vellem**, while wishing.

**trado**, I recommend. — **defendas**: this form (2 pers. pres. subj.) is rarely used, as here, of a definite subject: perhaps it is archaic or colloquial.

**per . . . rogatus**, i. e. I appeal to you in the name of your own children. — **haveto**, § 38, 2, f.

§ 36. **ipse**, i. e. in person, opposed to the letter.

**Arretino**, of Arretium, *Arezzo*, an old Etruscan town in north-eastern Etruria, the birth-place of Mæcenæ. Like many other Etruscan towns, it was severely treated by Sulla, and the Flaminius here mentioned is likely to have been one of Sulla's colonists. The *ager* was a district of land, usually around and belonging to a city.

**sollicitatam**, i. e. canvassed for soldiers. — **armis exornat**, furnished with arms.

**fascibus**: these were the symbol of the full military *imperium* (see note, § 18). Taking the *fascēs* with him was, therefore, the assumption of the signs of authority, like a proconsul or proprætor, and hence open rebellion.

**hostis judicat**, declares public enemies, the technical outlawing of rebels and traitors.

**quam** refers to *dilem*, which is often feminine in this sense (§ 13, 2, N.).

**sine fraude**, without harm (the original sense of the word: compare *frustum*, *frustra*). — **ab armis discedere** (techn.), to lay down their arms.

**imperium, state**: here so called because of its great extent and supremacy. — **cui cum . . . parerent, . . . adfluerent**, for though all things submitted to it, and ease and wealth abounded, &c.

**21. quæ, things which.** — **fuere tamen** (emph.), still there were, &c.

**perditum irent**, went to ruin (a frequent old use of the supine with *ire*, surviving chiefly in the future infin. passive).

**namque** (poetic) = **etenim**. — **duobus decretis**, in consequence of two decrees (a loose abl. of cause, or possibly locative).

**inductus**, supply *quisquam*, from below. — **vis morbi** = violent disease.

§ 37. **illis**, i. e. those mentioned before. — **aliena, hostile.** — **omnino**.

**cuncta plebes**, the entire lower class generally. — **adeo, in fact.** **invident**: the subj. is the antecedent of *quibus*. — **suarum rerum**, of their own condition.

**turba . . . aluntur**, make their living by disturbance and riot, without anxiety (risk). — **egestas . . . damno**, beggary sits light on them, since it brings no loss.

**urbana plebs**, the mob of the streets, opposed to the *plebs* generally; as a political body. — **vero**, simply emphasizes *ea, that*. — **præceps**, reckless.

**primum**: the classes here mentioned are, 1. great rascals seeking a wider field; 2. those driven from home by poverty; 3. fugitives from justice.

**præstabant**, were foremost.

**patrimonii amissis** = **qui patrimonia amiserant**. To part with the family estate was looked upon as a great disgrace.

**flagitium, facinus**, *crime of scandal* (lust) or *violence*.

**sicut in sentinam**, *as into a sink* (of iniquity). The figure is of a cesspool, into which all gutters lead.

**gregariis**, *of the herd*, i. e. common. This refers to Sulla's veterans. Sulla had filled up the number of the Senate—sadly reduced by the massacres and losses of the civil war—with persons of lower rank, among them some of his own officers. This will perhaps explain the senatorial rank of such ruffians as Vargunteius (see note, § 17), and also the fact that he is called by Cicero simply *eques*.

**regio . . . cultu, in regal style and splendor**. — **si . . . foret** (§ 66, 2), subj. following the implied infinitive (*fore*) after **separabat**.

**manuum mercede**, *with the wages of* (manual) *toil*.

**largitionibus**, i. e. the sales of corn at reduced rates (see note, § 33), the public games, feasts, etc. A familiar example of what a countryman might expect by migrating to Rome is found in the will of Julius Cæsar, who bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens beyond the Tiber, and to each citizen the sum of three hundred sesterces (about fifteen dollars).

**eos . . . alebat**, *these were fed by*, etc.

**mirandum est**: the subj. is the clause **homines . . . consu-  
luisse**. — **rei publicæ**, etc., i. e. were as reckless about the affairs of the public as their own.

**quorum parentes**, etc., *those whose parents had been proscribed, whose goods plundered*, etc.

**proscripti**: when Sulla was master of Rome, B.C. 82, he was in the habit of *proscribing* (posting up) the names of those of the opposite faction whom he wished to have put to death: whoever then should kill them was entitled to a reward amounting to about \$2000. The property of the proscribed was confiscated (*bona erepta*), and themselves and their children deprived of political privileges (*jus libertatis imminutum*).

**haud sane alio animo**, *with no very different feeling*.

**aliarum atque senatus** (§ 43, 3, a), i. e. opposed to the Senate.

22. **id adeo . . . revorterat**, *thus that evil* (the crushing of the popular party by Sulla) *had after many years returned to plague the state*.

§ 38. **Pompeio, Crasso**, coss. B.C. 70. One of the chief acts of their consulship was the restoration of the exorbitant power of the tribunes (*tribunicia potestas*), which had been curtailed by Sulla about ten years before (see note to Cic. Verr. I. § 44). The tribunes, ten in number, must be of plebeian birth, and were elected in the

plebeian assembly of the tribes. They had the power of forbidding almost any public proceeding, and of holding assemblies of the plebeians, which passed laws for the whole people (see note, § 33), and imposed fines.

**summam potestatem**, not *imperium*. The tribunes had no *imperium*, or supreme authority to command; their *potestas*, or political power, was, however, in some respects even greater than that of the consuls. They could seize and imprison any person even a magistrate, while they themselves were *sacrosancti*, and therefore their persons could not be touched. It may be noticed that this restoration of the tribunician power was only four years before the first conspiracy of Catiline.

**quibus ætas**, etc., i. e. in the flush of youth and spirit (*hendiadys*).

**senatus specie**, under a show of devotion to the Senate. — **pro**: i. e. but in fact for their own advancement.

**honestis nominibus**, honorable pretences. — **alii sicuti**, etc.; **pars quo**, etc.; the two parties, *optimates* and *populares*.

§ 39. **Pompeius**, see § 16. — **bellum maritimum**, i. e. against the pirates, under the Gabinian Law, B.C. 67. During his absence there was a revival of political excitement, with excesses on both sides; Sallust, as an adherent of the popular party, mentions only the arrogance of the aristocracy (*ei*, etc.).

**ipsi innoxii**, themselves unmolested: a less common but apparently the original meaning of the word (§ 44, I, 6. The termination **ius**, original **ya**, seems to have regularly a passive force: thus **noxius**, liable to a penalty, hence guilty, and so harmful).

**ceteros . . . terrere**, while they overawed by [threats of] prosecutions those of the other party (the *populares*), so as to deal more at their ease with the people while in office. Prosecutions could be brought by any person, and they were constantly used as engines of political or personal hostility.

**dubiiis rebus** (loc. abl.), in dangerous circumstances. — **novandi**, sc. **res**, making a revolution.

**vetus certamen**, etc., the old quarrel roused their passions, i. e. of the leaders of the opposite or popular party (*ceteros*). The object of the *optimates* (*paucoorum*) seems to have been to overawe their opponents, or wear them out with incessant prosecutions, — the same course which the party in power has so often followed towards the opposition newspapers in Paris. But as soon as the crisis came (*dubiiis rebus*), and there seemed a chance for making a stir (*novandi*), the popular leaders eagerly took up the old quarrel.

**quod si . . . discessisset**, now if Catiline had come off the better in his first battle. — **profecto**, no doubt.

**neque . . . extorqueret**, nor could they (the *populares*), if they had gained the victory, have enjoyed it long, but that, worn out and bled to death, the strongest man would wrest away at once their power and their freedom, — the natural history of seditious insurrection in all ages. "The strongest man" in this case proved, twenty years later, to be Julius Cæsar.

**tamen**, notwithstanding the evil effects that would follow from his victory.

**necari**: a most extraordinary example of the *patria potestas*, or father's authority. The Roman *paterfamilias* possessed remarkable authority over his family: he "has over his children the *jus vitæ necisque*, the power of life and death, and a *fortiori* of uncontrolled corporal chastisement; he can modify their personal condition at pleasure; he can give a wife to his son; he can give his daughter in marriage; he can divorce his children of either sex; he can transfer them to another family by adoption; and he can sell them" (Maine, *Anc. Law*, p. 133). This enormous power extended to all sons with their families, and to unmarried daughters. The married daughters were transferred to a like sovereign jurisdiction held by their husbands. Of course, the progress of manners made the actual exercise of this theoretical power extremely rare. In fact it was practically abolished long before it ceased to exist in theory.

**23. alios**, antecedent of **quoscumque**. — **quod modo foret**, provided only it were, etc. (§ 65, 2, *d*).

§ 40. **Umbreno cuidam**, one *Umbrenus* (contemptuously), a freedman.

**Allobrogum**, a tribe of Gauls between the Rhone and the Alps (see Cæsar's *Gallic War*). Their territory was conquered, B.C. 121, and formed a part of the Province of *Gallia Transalpina* or *Narbonensis*. They were embarrassed with debt, and their ambassadors were now in Rome trying to get relief from the misgovernment of the Roman officials.

**societatem**, alliance in.

**negotiatu erat**, had been in business: chiefly that of money-lending. The *negotiatores* were money-brokers in the provinces, corresponding to *feneratores* and *argentarii* in Rome. — **noverat**, knew (had become acquainted with).

**civitatis**, of their state; **ejus casum**, its evil case.

**magistratum**, the provincial magistrates, prætor, quæstor, etc. Provincial governors were notorious for their exactions and oppressions. — **senatum**, sc. **Romanum**.

**rationem**, a plan. — **qua effugiatis** (§ 64, 1), subj. of purpose.

**ista mala**, those ills you speak of.



quod . . . essent (§ 65, 1), subj. of result. — *facturi*, ready to do; *dum*, provided.

D. Bruti, see note, § 21. — *aliena consili*, unfavorable to the plan. — *propter Semproniam*, i. e. through her influence (see § 25). *sermoni*, in his words.

*innoxios*, innocent (cf. note above). — *quo . . . esset*, that the deputies' courage might be increased (§ 64, 1, a). — *pollicitos operam suam*, after they had promised their efforts (§ 72, 3).

§ 41. *quidnam . . . caperent*: the question is emphasized by *nam*, as by an emphatic *should* in English: direct disc., *what plan shall we adopt?*

*in altera parte*, on one side. — *merces*, prize.

*maiores opes*, more money, which they would get as reward for information, as compared with the cancelling of their debts by revolution; *tuta consilia*, opposed to *studium belli*.

*hæc illis volventibus* (abl. abs.), while they balanced thus.

*patrocinio*, see notes to Cicero's Orations, p. 73. The patronate over a conquered nation was usually held by the conquering commander, and often remained in his family. This Fabius Sanga, of whom nothing is known, was of the same *gens* with Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, the conqueror of the Allobroges.

24. *studium*, zeal for the conspiracy. — *bene polliceantur*, should promise fair. — *dent operam*, exert themselves. — *quam . . . habeant*, have their guilt as clear as possible (*manu fendo*, hit with the hand; hence put the hand on any thing, catch in the overt act: a word referring to direct as opposed to circumstantial evidence).

§ 42. *Bruttio*, sc. *agro*; the extreme south-west of Italy. — *motus*, outbreak.

*dimiserat* (*dis mitto*), had distributed, sent armed to different places. — *simul*, at once. — *consiliis*, abl. of means. — *timore*, alarm.

*causa cognita*, having examined the case (the technical word for official investigation). — *vincula*, chains, i. e. prison.

*in ulteriore Gallia*, i. e. *Narbonensis*. The *legati* were aids of the commander, or members of his staff, and might hold command in his absence, by delegation of his authority.

C. [Licinius] *Murena*, brother of L. Murena, consul elect, in behalf of whom Cicero afterwards delivered one of his most famous orations.

§ 43. *videbantur*, § 70, 2, a<sup>1</sup>.

L. [Calpurnius] *Bestia*, called a Senator, § 17. As he did not enter upon his tribunate until Dec. 10, there seems some mistake here. It must have been known long before there that Catiline arrived at Fæsulæ.

*contione*, a *contio* was a public assembly for the purpose of dis-

cussion only, voting being done in the *comitia*. It was called and presided over by a magistrate, and none could speak without his permission.

**eo signo**, at that signal (abl. of means). — **conjuratio** = **conjuratorium**.

**suum quisque negotium**, each his own part, as defined below.

**quo tumultu** = that by the disturbance thus caused. — **alius alium**, sc. **adgrederetur**.

**fili familiarum**, as long as the father lived, the sons and unmarried daughters were under his *patria potestas* (see note, § 39), unless emancipated by a peculiar and complicated process. These *fili familiarum* may therefore have been themselves married men and "fathers of a family" in our sense of the term.

**percussis**, paralyzed.

**decreta**, not decrees, but decisions.

**dies prolatando**, by deferring the day of executing the plot: it was put off until the day of the Saturnalia, Dec. 19. The occurrence of §§ 42 and 43 appears to have been in November, while the negotiations with the Allobroges were going on.

**corrumpere**, were spoiling. — **facto**, action (§ 54, 1, d). — **adjuvarent**: dic. disc. **adjuvetis** (§ 59, 4, f).

**§ 5.** § 44. **per Gabinium**, § 54, 4, b. — **conveniunt**, meet (have interviews with).

**jus jurandum**, that is, an agreement signed on oath. — **signatum**, with their seals, the regular way of authenticating documents.

**eos** = **civis**, subj. of **posse**.

**dant**, sc. **jusjurandum**. — **semet**, in person. — **eo**, i. e. to Gaul, and vouch personally for his participation.

**Crotoniensem**: Crotona was a Greek city on the southern coast of Italy, which had received a Roman Colony. — **pergerent**, go directly. — **fide**, pledge.

**fac cogites**, do reflect, emphatic and colloquial. — **rationes**, i. e. the success of your plans.

**ab infimis**, i. e. the slaves. The Romans had had several awful experiences of servile insurrections, and nothing would bring the conspiracy into such bad odor as any suspicion of this sort. (Compare the letter as given by Cicero, Cat. III. § 12.)

**ad hoc**, in addition. — **verbis**, in words (abl. of manner).

§ 45. **constituta nocte**, Dec. 2 by the calendar; in fact, about the middle of February.

**L. Flacco**, son of the consul of B.C. 86 (see note, § 33); he governed the province of Asia, as *proprætor*, and was successfully defended by Cicero on a charge of *repetundæ* (extortion, see note, § 49).

**ponte Mulvio**, over the Tiber about three miles north of Rome : it is by this bridge that the *Via Flaminia* crosses the river.

**Allobrogum limits comitatus**.

**cetera**, i. e. the details.

**militares**, i. e. they knew their business.

**præsidii**; as Cicero says, *Cat. III. 5*, in two bodies, *ita ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset*.

**id loci**, § 50, 2, c.

**cito cognito consilio**, *quickly seeing how things lay*. This is consistent with Cicero's statement, that the plan was concealed from all but the prætors. Long, however, who never loses an opportunity to disparage Cicero's testimony, would omit **cito**, because "if Sallust's narrative is true, they [the ambassadors] knew they were going to be stopped." But, although the ambassadors were playing the conspirators false, and knew that in some way the letters were to be got from them, it does not follow that they would be trusted with the details of the plan. Further, **cognito** does not seem the right word to use for a previous knowledge.

**26.** § 46. **at illum**, *but he was overwhelmed at once, &c.* — **conjuratiōne patefacta**, *by the disclosure of the conspiracy*.

**porro autem**, *but again*. — **tantis**, *of so high rank*.

**sibi oneri**, *a load for him to carry*. — **perdundæ**, etc. (dat.), *the ruin of the state* (§ 73, 3, b).

**vocari**, *to be summoned*: the technical word for a magistrate's summons.

**paulo ante**, i. e. a little before the summons, so that he could hear the news.

**Tarracinensem**, *of Tarracina*, a town on the coast, about fifty miles south-east of Rome. It was an ancient Volscian town, and its name was originally *Anxur*.

**in ædem concordiæ**, between the Forum and the Capitoline : it was a not infrequent place for meetings of the Senate.

**magna frequentia**, *before a full house*.

§ 47.  **fingere alia**, *began to make up a different story*.

**fide publica**, *under public pledge of safety*; he turned State's evidence.

**paucis**, *only a few*. — **socium adscitum**, *invited to join*. — **legatos**, § 67, 1, b. R.

**dissimulantem**, *when he tried to conceal*. — **coarguunt**, *convict*. **præter**, *in addition to*. — **sermonibus**, *conversation*.

**ex libris Sibyllinis**: the books bought of the Cumæan Sibyl by Tarquin the Proud, kept in charge of a special college of priests of high rank, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and consulted on occasions of great public emergency.

**Cinnam atque Sullam**. L. Cornelius Cinna succeeded to the

leadership of the democracy and the rule of Rome on the death of Marius; he was consul B.C. 87-84. L, Cornelius Sulla got control of the city two years later (B.C. 82).

**incenso Capitolio**: the *Capitolium*, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was burned in the Civil War, B.C. 83.

**27. aruspices**, not augurs, but Etruscan soothsayers, who prognosticated chiefly by consulting the entrails of the animals sacrificed.

**signa sua**; letters were tied with a thread (*linum*) and sealed.

**abdicato magistratu**: during his term of office a magistrate was practically exempt from judicial control. Lentulus was therefore compelled to abdicate his prætorship in order that he might be dealt with.

**in liberis custodiis**: no provision was made at Rome for imprisonment, except for malefactors in the horrible Marmertine prison (§ 55). Prisoners of rank were therefore confined in the houses of their acquaintances.

**P. Spintheri**, cos. B.C. 57, in which year he brought about Cicero's recall from exile.

**ædilis**: the ædiles — four in number, two curule and two plebeian — had charge of the police of the city, and especially of the public buildings and the superintendence of the games.

§ 48. **exsecrari**, histor. infin. — **gaudium . . . agitabat**, *expressed their satisfaction and delight*.

**omnes copiæ**, etc., *all their wealth consisted in* [what served for] *daily use and providing for their bodily wants*: the class which, in great cities, is the first victim of revolution, and the greatest sufferer by it.

**proficiiscentem**, *just setting out*.

**bonorum**, *the better classes*; **hostium**, i. e. Catiline's force.

**Lentulus**, etc., **deprehensi**, *the arrest of Lentulus and the others*. — **reficeret**, *revive*.

**potentia**: not official power, but influence — perhaps illegal.

**tanta vis hominis** = *a man of so great power*.

**Crasso obnoxii**, *under obligations to Crassus*, i. e. in debt to him.

**28. referatur**, sc. **ad senatum**.

**frequens senatus**: a full Senate at this time must have counted over four hundred members, as the holding of any regular magistracy entitled to a seat in it for life.

**decernit**, *decides*: the common translation *decree* does not fully convey the meaning of this word, because the *decretum* of the Senate regularly included facts or resolves, as well as executive orders; while the English "decree" is usually of *something to be done*.

(Compare the resolution — *decretum* — at the close of Cicero's last Philippic, "Orations," p. 249).

*potestatem*, sc. *indicandi*, opportunity of testifying.

*machinatum*, contrived. — *quo . . . tegeret*, that if Crassus were implicated in the charge (*adpellato*, summoned), his influence might more easily shield the others, through [his] sharing in [their] danger.

*immissum*, put up to it. — *more suo*: Crassus was of a jealous and suspicious temper.

*prædicantem*, making a loud talk.

*tantam contumeliam*, such an outrage: this suspicion perhaps had something to do with Cicero's being left to the mercy of his enemies in the time of Crassus's political power, four years later.

§ 49. C. [Calpurnius] *Piso*, cos. B. C. 67: he was pro-consul of Narbonese Gaul, and was successfully defended by Cicero this same year on a charge of *repetundæ*. This story, implicating not only Piso, but Catulus, who is regarded as a man of the highest honor, in so mean a trick, can hardly rest upon any but hearsay evidence, and is likely to be a piece of Sallust's partisanship.

*nam*, etc.: their assumed motive for making the charge.

*in iudicio*, at the time of the trial. Cæsar made this attack upon him as *patronus* of those beyond the Po (*Transpadani*).

*ex petitione pontificatus*. The office of *pontifex maximus* had fallen vacant this year, and Catulus, as the leading member of the aristocracy, seemed to have an unquestioned claim to succession. But Cæsar, although a young man (of 37), only known for his dissolute manners and prominence as a popular leader, offered himself as candidate, and was elected. Catulus never got over this defeat.

The *pontifices*, a *collegium* of fifteen members, had the chief superintendence of the religious institutions of the State. The board filled its own vacancies, but the office of chief *pontifex* was determined by a popular vote fixing upon the one who was then to be formally elected by the board itself, like the election of English bishops by the chapter, where the government indicates the person to be elected. In reference to these elections, and the later deification of the emperors, Gibbon remarks that in the Roman state religion the same man might be "a priest, an atheist, and a god."

*autem*, moreover. — *publice . . . muneribus*, i. e. as ædile, the officer having charge of the public games and shows, the splendor of which he often increased at his own expense. This, in fact, came to be an unavoidable and enormous tax on popularity.

*singulatim*, to individuals. — *quæ . . . dicerent*, which, as they said. — *usque eo*, to such a degree.

*equites Romani*, young men of noble family, who served in the eighteen centuries of *equites*, receiving a horse from the state: it was at this time essentially a parade corps.

**29. § 50. liberti, freedmen.** A freed slave was *libertus* as regarded his former master (who now became his *patronus*), and *libertinus* as regarded others. **Lentuli** must therefore limit *liberti* as well as *olientibus*: the clients were his free-born followers.

**in vicis, in the streets;** or, more correctly, the *wards* or *districts* centring about the several principal streets.

**duces multitudinum, mob-leaders:** petty politicians, leaders of the populace in the several localities.

**per nuntios orabat:** it would seem from this that the *libera custodia* was "free" enough to allow a prisoner correspondence with his friend with a view to a rescue. It was, however, rigid enough to keep him in durance, under the immediate peril of execution.

**familiam, household of slaves.**

**monebat, suggested.** — **convocato senatu;** this was Dec. 5.

**contra rem publicam,** "against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth."

**primus sententiam rogatus:** the consuls elect were called upon first, if there were any; if not, the *princeps senatus*, or one who was recognized as holding the first rank: then, in succession, the consular, prætorian and other senators.

**decreverat:** the pluperfect is a common device to subordinate the necessary details to the main point, — here, Cæsar's speech.

**pedibus iturum (sc. in sententiam), would vote,** i. e. on a division. The vote was taken by going on one side or the other of the hall (*discessio*). A class of Senators, who had a vote, but no right to speak, were called *pedarii*.

**Ti. [Claudii] Neronia,** grandfather of the emperor Tiberius. Nero's proposition was to put off the decision until further measures for security should have been taken (*præsidiis additis*). This is not inconsistent with Cicero's referring only to the propositions of Silanus and Cæsar (Cat. IV. 7); for Nero's notion had nothing to do with the merits of the question, but only with the time of action, so that Silanus agreed to it.

**Cæsar:** as *prætor designatus*, he spoke after the consulars and before the prætorians. It is a misfortune that Sallust's vanity led him to compose — in the fashion of ancient historians — this artificial speech, instead of preserving some of the notices which were probably extant, of what was really said. Cæsar could hardly have uttered the stale commonplaces — exactly in the style of Sallust, who is nothing if not general — with which this rhetorical exercise begins. But the sentiments and the temper are doubtless Cæsar's own, and the argument is substantially as Cicero reports it.

**§ 51. ¶ 1. patres conscripti:** the *patres*, as has been said (see note, § 6) were the patrician senators; the *conscripti* were

plebeians who were "enrolled" in the Senate on the establishment of the republic, to fill vacancies. Consistently with the Latin practice of omitting the *et* in such combinations, *patres et conscripti* became in practice the "conscrip't fathers" of literature.

*lubidini*, passion; *usui*, advantage. — *paruit*, § 58, 5, c.

*intenderis* (§ 58, 7), keep on the stretch.

*magna*, etc., I have a great deal to tell (§ 60, 2, c) = I could tell, &c., but. — *male consuluerint*, have taken bad counsel.

*bello Macedonico*, i. e. the Third, in which the independence of Macedonia was overthrown. The Rhodians, who had given Rome effective aid in earlier wars, and been rewarded by liberal grants of territory (*populi Romani opibus creverat*), held themselves aloof from this (*infida atque adversa fuit*). For this no direct punishment was inflicted, although the grants of territory were taken back. — *magna atque magnifica*. Rhodes was at this time the first maritime power in the world.

**30. bellis Punicis**: the three wars with Carthage, the third of which resulted in the destruction of Carthage (B.C. 146). The Romans always indulged in a complacent sense of honor and fairness in respect to their dealings with Carthage, which contrasts oddly with the facts.

*cum*, though. — *per occasionem*, taking advantage of opportunity.

¶ 2. *neu*, and that . . . not. — *iræ consulas*, seek to gratify your wrath rather than take care of your reputation (strictly, take counsel for the advantage of).

*novom consilium*: the punishment of death was new in the sense that the laws forbade its infliction upon a citizen except by a vote of the people: it was therefore strictly out of the province of the Senate.

*omnium ingenia*, any man's power (to devise a fitting punishment). — *utendum* (§ 73, 1, R.), impersonal, governing *eis*. (The gerundive is a very common construction with *censeo* in the sense of advise or vote: compare end of § 51.)

¶ 3. *composite*, in good set terms. — *magnifice*, and in lofty style. — *miserati sunt*, have deplored.

*rapī . . . complerī*: these infinitives are in apposition with *quæ . . . acciderent*, "the things which happen to the defeated," depending on *enumeravere*.

*quo*, to what purpose. — *scilicet*, to be sure (ironical). — *quo . . . pertinuit*, what did that argument mean?

¶ 4. *alia aliis licentia*, different degrees of allowance to different persons.

*si quid* (adv. acc.), if in any respect. — *pauci sciunt*, hardly anybody knows of it. — *fama*, etc., i. e. their fame is no greater than their fortune.

**minuma**, *least of all*. — **minores quam**, *too small for*.

**postrema meminere**, *keep in mind only the last things that happened*. — *in*, *in the case of*.

¶ 5. **certo scio**, *I am well assured*. — **illum**, subj. of **exercere** : *to practise* (a passion), therefore act under its influence.

**eos . . . cognovi** (§ 47, 2, c), *I know this to be the character and moderation of the man*.

**verum** opposes the whole, including **aliena**, to the preceding.

**sed**, opposed to the concession in **non crudelis**.

**31. aliena a re publica**, *against the public interest*.

**aut metus aut injuria**, i. e. fear of future wrong, or desire of punishing the present wrong.

**decernere**, simply, *to give your voice for*.

**tanta præsidia** : see Cicero's orations against Catiline, especially the beginning of the first, for the measures of precaution that he took. — *in armis*, *under arms*.

**possum**, *I could*; **equidem**, *to be sure*; **id quod**, etc., *what is the fact*.

**mortem ærumnarum requiem**, *that death is rest from sorrows* : said here in accordance with Cæsar's Epicurean creed.

**lex Porcia**, about B.C. 200 : "*virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit ; libertatem civium lictori eripuit*" (Cic. pro Rabir. ch. 4).

**at aliæ leges**, etc. : i. e. if scourging is forbidden (by the Porcian law), much more is it forbidden, by several laws, to put them to death. The whole subject is very obscure, and the precise import of these laws is not known. To all intents and purposes, in the later republic, the punishment of death for Roman citizens was out of use, since, as is here stated, the condemned criminal was allowed to go away and become an alien from his country. But exile from Rome was even worse to a Roman than exile from Paris is to a Frenchman.

**in homines**, i. e. *inflicted on*.

**qui** (adv.) **convenit**, *what consistency is there ?*

**at enim**, *but, you say*.

¶ 6. **tempus, dies**, etc. : *occasion, time, fortune, whose pleasure controls* [the affairs of] *nations* (will take vengeance on us, if we violate right in this matter).

**vos** (emph.), i. e. *for your own sakes*.

**omnia male exempla**, etc. Certainly, whether Cæsar was in sympathy with the conspirators or not, he could not have said a truer thing than these ominous words, let them be his own clear foresight, or Sallust's cheap moralizing after the fact. The most dangerous violations of law are by those who give their act the sanction of a high example.



**devictis Atheniensibus** ; by the battle of Ægospotami, B.C. 404, which ended the Peloponnesian War, and transferred the hegemony, or political leadership, of Greece, from Athens to Sparta. The Spartans now established at Athens a committee of thirty, to administer the government : who, from their unjust and oppressive rule, are known as the Thirty Tyrants.

**lubidinose, at their pleasure** (see the defence of Theramenes, Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 3).

**pœnas dedit**, see note, § 22.

**Damasippum** : a name belonging to the Licinian *gens*, but given (apparently) to L. Junius Brutus, one of the leaders of the popular or Marian party in the Civil War. Damasippus was prætor, B.C. 82, and when Sulla gained the victory which practically decided the contest, it was he who, before evacuating the city, ordered the massacre of the leaders of the opposition. He was shortly afterwards captured by Sulla and executed, in company with three or four thousand others. — **creverant, had flourished.**

**magnæ cladis**, the horrible proscriptions of Sulla.

**32. trahebantur, were dragged off** (for slaughter).

**alio consule, under another consul**, (§ 54, 10 and b).

**exercitus in manu, an army ready for use** : pointing insidiously at the forces Cicero had armed to keep the peace. Nothing would more rouse jealousy than the hint of an army within the walls.

**illi, i. e. that other** : Pompey, or Cæsar ?

¶ 7. **quo minus imitarentur, to prevent their imitating** (§ 65, 1, a).

**ab Samnitibus . . . ab Tuscis** : how much this amounted to, cannot be determined. Probably the Romans borrowed at least some of the externals of state from Etruria, but it is not certain that much of importance was taken from this source.

**Græciæ morem imitati** : this cannot be true, for our very earliest accounts of Rome recognize the punishment of death and scourging ; while Grecian law and custom were mild by comparison.

**ea bene parta, that well-earned greatness.**

¶ 8. **ita censeo** : compare Cicero's statement of Cæsar's views, Cat. IV. ch. 4.

**contra, etc., against the peace and safety of the commonwealth.**

**cum populo agat** : the regular expression for the transaction of business in an assembly of the people.

§ 52. **verbo adsentiebantur** : the expression used for the delivery of the *sententia* by the several senators as called upon — an informal vote.

**alius alii (dat.), i. e. some to one point and some to another.**

**varie** : indicating that the decision was for a long time doubtful,

as senators changed their votes. Cicero's fourth oration appears to have been delivered in this interval of suspense, and afterwards Cato's speech decided the question.

§ 52. **M. Porcius Cato**: he was great-grandson of Cato the censor, a vehement partisan of the Senate, a thoroughly honest man, but narrow-minded, obstinate, and impracticable. He was a leader in the Civil War, and killed himself at Utica—hence his name *Uticensis*—after Cæsar's crowning victory of Thapsus (B.C. 46).

*habuit, delivered* (the regular word).

¶ 1. *disseruisse, to have been discussing*—calmly, as in a philosophical discourse.

*patriæ*, dat. of indir. obj. — *cavere*, § 57, 8, *d*; 70, 3, *a*.

33. *frustra*, etc., in vain will you then seek a remedy in justice.

*persequare, one may prosecute* (§ 57, 3, *a*).

*vos . . . fecistis*: an appeal to the better classes who neglected their duties to the state, such as might not be out of place at the present day. — *pluris, at a higher rate* (§ 54, 8, *a*).

*cujuscumque modi* (= *cuiusmodi*, § 21, 1, *b*), of whatever sort.

*aliquando, at length* (with impatience).

*de vectigalibus*, etc., an allusion to the war against Mithridates, which Pompey had just concluded: see Cicero's oration for the Manilian Law.

*anima, breath of life*. — *in dubio, in jeopardy*.

*sæpenumero, oftentimes*.

¶ 2. *in hoc ordine, in this body*. An *ordo* was a class having distinct interests of its own; especially the Senate.

*qui . . . condonabam*, an assertion of Cato's well-known Stoic principle, in contrast with the easy Epicureanism of Cæsar: *I* [a man] *who never, in act (mihi) or in thought (animo) had given myself indulgence for any fault, did not easily pardon evil deeds to another man's self-will*.

*opulentia*, etc., i. e. the strength of the state was like a rich man's fortune, which will endure careless spending.

*non id agitur, this is not the question*. — *nostra, ours* (pred.).

*nobiscum una hostium, along with ourselves, the property of the enemy*.

*hic mihi nominat, in such a case is there a man who talks to me about*. — *eo, by this means*.

*jampridem, etc., but in fact we have long, &c.*

*sane, if you will*.

*in furibus ærari*, i. e. to the "treasury ring." — *ne, by all means* (bitter irony).

*perditum, to ruin*.

¶ 3. *de inferis, about the lower world.* There was, as here expressed, a vague belief among the Romans in a future life with rewards and punishments in a sort of vast cavern underground (see Virgil's *Æneid*, book vi., partly imitated from Homer, *Odyssey*, book xi.).

*a multitudino conducta, by a hired mob.*

*quasi vero, just as if!* a very strong and effective argument.

34. *plus possit, has the greater power.*

*jam, at once.*

¶ 4. *pulcherrumam, in its greatest glory:* i. e. while in fact it is degenerate, and in evil case.

*nos haberemus, i. e. our generation, which has every advantage over theirs.*

*quæ nobis nulla sunt, of which we have none. — obnoxius, enslaved to.*

*publice egestatem:* not that the state had not resources enough, but the public interests were neglected and plundered, while individuals made a great display of wealth (*privatim opulentiam*).

*impetus, a raid, i. e. for plunder.*

¶ 5. *incendere, § 57, 8, d. — supra caput, above our heads,* like a rock ready to fall. — *hostibus, abl. (§ 54, 2, d).*

*quid faciatis, what you shall do (§ 67, 2, b).*

*ne, you may be sure.*

*scilicet, no doubt; immo, on the contrary; videlicet, I suppose.*

*non votis, etc.:* "the gods help those who help themselves."

*bello Gallico:* according to other authorities, it was in the Latin war, B.C. 340. Sallust has confused it with the Gallic war, twenty one years before, in which Manlius received his surname *Torquatus*.

35. *videlicet (ironical), forsooth. — verum, in truth.*

*iterum, now for the second time:* an intimation that Cethegus was implicated in the first conspiracy.

*quibus si . . . pensi fuisset, if they had even had any regard for any thing.*

*si peccato locus esset, if there were room for error:* but the ground we stand on is too narrow.

*faucibus:* Cicero (*Cat. II. § 2*) represents Catiline, by the same phrase, under the figure of a wild beast kept at bay.

¶ 6. *cum . . . paravisse, the preamble; de . . . sumundum, the resolution.*

*more majorum, by ancient precedent.*

§ 53. *forte . . . adtendere, i. e. I happen to have been interested in observing.*

*legionibus hostium:* a general but incorrect military expression, as the legion was a purely Roman institution, like the *turma* of cavalry.

**gloria belli**: this refers not to any special achievements of the Gauls, but to the constant terror they inspired among the more civilized nations of the south.

**constabat**, *it became clear*.

**36. paupertas, paucitas**, i. e. a people poor in resources and feeble in numbers.

**res publica**, *politics or public business*.

**vitia sustentabat**, *fed the faults*.—**obtulerat**, *threw in my way*.

§ 54. **nihil largiundo**, *by never bribing*.

**bellum novom**, *a new style of war*, as in Gaul, Britain and Germany.

**constantia**, *firmness*.

**esse quam videri bonus malebat**, a celebrated and formal maxim of Greek morality, as old at least as Æschylus (Seven against Thebes).

§ 55. **discessit**, i. e. in a division. — **eo spatio**, *in the interval*.

**nequid novaretur**, *that no new attempt should be made*.

**tres viros**, sc. **capitales**, *the executioners*.

**in carcerem**, the *Carcer Mamertinus*, ascribed to King Ancus Marcius (Liv. i. 33), was between the Forum and the Capitoline, east of the Temple of Concord. The subterranean dungeon, *Tullianum*, ascribed to Servius Tullius, was probably originally a well-room (*tullius* was an old word for *rivus*). These chambers are now exhibited in Rome. The *Tullianum*, where there is still a spring of cold clear water, slightly brackish, was formerly entered only by a narrow round aperture in the stone vault which covers it (*camera lapideis fornicibus juncta*).

**37. Tullianum**: it is said that even in the Provinces, the vilest cell of the dungeon, built for the punishment of traitors, was called by this name of horror.

**humi** (loc.), *underground*. — **camera**, the low arched roof, or vault, rising not much more than a foot (in a span of perhaps twenty feet) to a height of not quite seven feet.

**demissus**, *thrust down* through the opening above.

**laqueo gulam fregere**, *broke the windpipe with a noose*, i. e. *strangled him*.

§ 56. **duas legiones**: this was the regular force of a consul, and Cataline evidently wished to give a show of legitimacy to his enterprise.

**pro**, *in proportion to*.

**cohortis**, etc., i. e. the legions were only skeleton ones, with the full numbers of ten cohorts each, but the cohorts were incomplete, so that the legions did not reach the regular number of six thousand men.

**voluntarius**, *volunteer*, enlisting from the neighborhood; **ex sociis**, *from his accomplices* in Rome.

**militaribus armis**, *arms of regular soldiers*: these were a brass helmet (*cassis*), a shield (*scutum*), cuirass (*lorica*), and greaves (*ocreae*), the short two-edged Spanish sword (*gladius*), and short heavy javelin, (*pilum*).

**ad urbem**, *towards the city*. — **in Galliam vorsus**, *in the direction of Gaul*: **vorsus** is generally used thus adverbially, with a preposition.

**prope diem**, *at no distant day*.

**cujus**, sc. **generis**: his rejection of these was another evidence of his desire to appear as the champion of the Roman people.

§ 57. **conjuracionem . . . sumptum**: these accusatives depend on the verb of *telling* contained in **nuntius pervenit**.

**38. in agrum Pistoriensem**: Pistoria, a small town of Etruria, lay about fifteen miles north west of Fæsulæ, by an easy road: here is one of the best passes over the Apennines into northern Italy. The expression *per montis*, here and in the last chapter, shows that Catiline had moved to some distance from the original camp of Manlius.

**præsidebat**, *held command*.

**ex difficultate**, to be construed with **existumans**: he formed his judgment from a knowledge of the straits in which Catiline must be.

**radicibus**, *foot*. — **illi**, etc., *he must descend*. — **utpote qui** § 65, 2, *c*.

§ 58. ¶ 1. **compertum habeo**, § 72, 3, *b*. — **ex ignavo**, *from being cowardly*. — **patere**, *appear*. — **hortere**, *you would exhort* (§ 59, 4, *b*): the condition is contained in **quem . . . excitant**.

**quo**, *to the end that*.

¶ 2. **cladem**, *disaster*. — **juxta mecum**, *as well as I do*. — **maxime**, *ever so much*. — **si vincimus**, § 58, 2, *c*.

**39. supervacaneum**, *a thing of no interest*.

¶ 3. **adgredimini** (*imperat.*), *advance the more boldly*. — **licuit** (§ 60, 2, *c*), *you might have*, &c.; **potuistis nonnulli**, etc., *some of you, having lost your fortunes at Rome, might have waited for other men's wealth*. — **hæc**, i. e. my standard.

**cum . . . avorteris**, a roundabout way of saying, *if you turn your back*.

¶ 4. **necessitudo**, *necessity*; perhaps including also the idea, that their fortunes were bound up together. — **cavete amittatis**, § 57, 7, *a*.

§ 59. **signa canere**: **signa** is subject. The signal was given with the *tuba*, a long straight horn with a harsh sound:

*Tuba terribilem sonitum procul ære canoro increpuit*. — Virg. *Æn.* ix. 503.

**instructos ordines** : the *acies*, or army in line of battle, of this period consisted of either two or three lines of cohorts, each cohort counting sixty men in front, and ten deep. This was the Roman system, equally removed from the unwieldy phalanx of the Greeks, and the extreme thinness of the English line.

**remotis equis**, compare Cæsar, B.G. i. 25. — **pedes** (§ 16, 3, c), *on foot*. — **sinistros**, *on his left*.

**reliquarum signa**, twelve in number. The cohort was formed of three maniples, and each maniple had its *signum* (a staff with some figure or badge at the end) or *vexillum* (a flag, attached by its upper edge to a cross-piece at the end of the staff). The cohort appears to have had no standard, probably because it existed as a regular organization only after the time of Marius, before whom the maniple was the sole division of the legion. The standard of the legion, established by Marius, was a silver eagle.

**centuriones** : two centurions commanded each maniple. — **omnis lectos**, *all picked men*. •

**evocatos** : these were veterans, who had served out their time, but were induced to volunteer by the offer of special privileges and emoluments.

**bello Cimbrico** (B.C. 101), when Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri near Vercellæ.

**40. latrones, bandits** : insurrection, among the Romans, was ordinarily spoken of as *latrocinium*, "brigandage."

**cernere**, *were contending*.

**amplius**, § 54, 5, c.

**tribunus** : six tribunes (two at a time) commanded the legion with equal and undivided power ; after the time of Julius Cæsar a *legatus* was placed over these.

**præfectus**, a general term for one appointed to a special command ; particularly of the auxiliaries or the fleet.

**legatus, staff-officer or aid**. All these held subordinate commands, under the *imperium* of the commander in chief ; the prætor had the *imperium* in virtue of his office, and was therefore the commander in chief of the army.

§ 60. **ferentariis, skirmishers**, armed with sword and spear, and light defensive armor. — **omittunt, drop**.

**pila . . . geritur**. The Roman mode of attack was, first to hurl the *pilum* (*eminus pugnare*), and then rush upon the enemy with the sword (*cominus pugnare*) ; precisely analogous to a modern volley of musketry followed by a bayonet charge.

**illi, the others**. — **pro, in place of**.

**contra ac ratus erat, contrary to his expectation**.

**cohortem prætoriam, prætorian cohort**, a picked body of men,

partly *evocati* (see note, § 59), partly young men of noble family, which served as body guard to the commander.

*alis alibi*, in various places: *alis* is an old form for *alius* (§ 16, 1, b, N.); for the plural verb see § 49, 1, c.

§ 61. *cerneres*, § 60, 2, a. — *quem . . . locum . . . eum* (§ 48, 3, R.), each man covered with his body, when his breath was spent, the same spot which he had taken fighting when alive (*vivōs*, nom.).

**41.** *advorsis vulneribus*, with wounds in front.

*etiam* (et jam), still.

*civis ingenuus*, free born citizen of Rome. — *juxta*, alike, i. e. not at all.

*hospitem*, a guest-friend; *hospitium* was a close relation of friendship and mutual aid between citizens of different states.

*lætitia*, etc.: the first pair denote outward expression, the second (in chastic order) inward feeling, *rejoicing and mourning, joy and sadness.*

**CICERO:**  
**SELECT ORATIONS.**





# CICERO'S SELECT ORATIONS.

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## *DEFENCE OF ROSCIUS.*

B.C. 80.

SEXTUS ROSCIUS was a rich and respected citizen of Ameria, a town (*municipium*) of Umbria, about fifty miles north of Rome. He had a taste for city life, and spent most of his time at Rome, where he was on intimate terms with some of the highest families, especially the Metelli and Scipios. Meantime his son Sextus, who certainly lacked his father's cultivated tastes, and was accused by his enemies of rudeness and clownishness, had the care of the extensive family estates at Ameria.

Sometime during the dictatorship of Sulla, — probably in the autumn of 81 B.C., — the elder Roscius was murdered one evening as he was returning from a dinner party. The murder was no doubt procured, or at least connived at, by one Titus Roscius Magnus, his fellow-townsmen and enemy. However that may be, the name of the murdered man was put upon the proscription-list by Chrysogonus, a freedman and favorite of Sulla, who bought his confiscated estates at auction at a nominal price. Three of these estates (there were thirteen in all) he transferred to a certain Titus Roscius Capito, another townsman and enemy of the deceased, and a leading man at Ameria; the remainder he put in charge of Magnus as his agent. The younger Sextus, a man of forty, thus robbed of his patrimony, had recourse to his father's friends in Rome for protection and help; when the three conspirators, fearing that they might be compelled to disgorge, resolved to secure themselves by accusing him of his father's murder. This they did through a professional prosecutor (*accusator*) named Erucius, who undertook the legal formalities of the prosecution.

The aristocratic friends of Roscius, not daring to brave the creature of the dictator, but not wishing to leave their guest-friend

(*hospes*) undefended, prevailed upon Cicero, then young and ambitious, to defend him. Even for so young and obscure a man, this was an act that called for disinterested courage; and nothing in Cicero's career is more to his credit. By the successful conduct of this case, he obtained the well-merited rank of a leader among the rising advocates of Rome. The defence of Roscius is the first of Cicero's public orations or pleas; and it is criticised by himself in the *Orator*, chap. 30.

CREDO ego vos, Judices, mirari quid sit quod, cum tot summi oratores hominesque nobilissimi sedeant, ego potissimum surrexerim, qui neque aetate neque ingenio neque auctoritate sim cum his, qui sed-eant, comparandus. Omnes hi, quos videtis adesse, in hac causa injuriam novo scelere <sup>charge</sup> <sup>got up</sup> confatam putant oportere defendi, defendere ipsi propter iniquitatem temporum non audent; ita fit ut adsint propterea quod officium sequuntur, taceant autem idcirco quia periculum vitant.

2. Quid ergo? Audacissimus ego ex omnibus? Minime. At tanto officiosior quam ceteri? Ne istius quidem laudis ita sim cupidus, ut aliis eam praereptam velim. Quae me igitur res praeter ceteros impulit, ut causam Sex. Rosci reciperem? Quia, si quis horum dixisset, quos videtis adesse, in quibus summa auctoritas est atque amplitudo, si verbum de re publica fecisset, — id quod in hac causa fieri necesse est, — multo plura dixisse quam dixisset putaretur:

3. ego etiam si omnia quae dicenda sunt libere dixerō, nequaquam tamen similiter oratio mea exire atque in vulgus emanare poterit. Deinde, quod ceterorum neque dictum obscurum potest esse, propter nobilitatem et amplitudinem, neque temere dicto concedi, propter aetatem et prudentiam: ego si quid liberius dixerō, vel occultum esse, propterea quod nondum ad rem publicam accessi, vel ignosci adullescentiae poterit, — tamen si non modo ignoscendi

*Official investigation*  
ratio, verum etiam cognoscendi consuetudo jam de civitate sublata est.

4. Accedit illa quoque causa, quod a ceteris forsitan ita petatum sit ut dicerent, ut utrumvis salvo officio facere se posse arbitrarentur: a me autem ei contenderunt, qui apud me et amicitia et beneficiis et dignitate plurimum possunt, quorum ego nec benevolentiam erga me ignorare, nec auctoritatem aspernari, nec voluntatem neglegere debeam. His de causis ego huic causae patronus exstiti, non dectus unus qui maximo ingenio, sed relictus ex omnibus qui minimo periculo possem dicere; neque uti satis firmo praesidio defensus Sex. Roscius, verum uti ne omnino desertus esset.

VI. 5. Sex. Roscius, pater hujusce, municeps Amerinus fuit, cum genere et nobilitate et pecunia non modo sui municipi verum etiam ejus vicinitatis facile primus, tum gratia atque hospitibus florens hominum nobilissimorum. Nam cum Metellis, Serviliis, Scipionibus erat ei non modo hospitium, verum etiam domesticus usus et consuetudo, quas (ut aequum est) familias honestatis amplitudinisque gratia nomino. Itaque ex omnibus suis commodis hoc solum filio reliquit: nam patrimonium domestici praedones vi ereptum possident, fama et vita innocentis ab hospitibus amicisque paternis defenditur. 6. Is cum omni tempore nobilitatis fautor fuisset, tum hoc tumultu proximo, cum omnium nobilium dignitas et salus in discrimen veniret, praeter ceteros in ea vicinitate eam partem causamque opera, studio, auctoritate defendit: etenim rectum putabat pro eorum honestate se pugnare, propter quos ipse honestissimus inter suos numerabatur. Posteaquam victoria constituta est, ab armisque recessimus, — cum proscriberentur homines, atque ex omni regione caperentur ei qui adversarii fuisse putabantur, — erat ille Romae frequens;

in foro et in ore omnium cotidie versabatur, magis ut exsultare victoria nobilitatis videretur, quam timere ne quid ex ea calamitatis sibi accideret.

7. Erant ei veteres inimicitiae cum duobus Rosciis Amerinis, quorum alterum sedere in accusatorum subselliis video, alterum tria hujusce praedia possidere audio. Quas inimicitias si tam cavere potuisset, quam metuere solebat, viveret. Neque enim, judices, injuria metuebat. Nam duo isti sunt T. Roscii, quorum alteri Capitoni cognomen est, iste qui adest Magnus vocatur, homines hujus modi: alter plurimarum palmarum vetus ac nobilis gladiator habetur, hic autem nuper se ad eum lanistam contulit; quique ante hanc pugnam tiro esset, [quod sciam,] facile ipsum magistrum scelere audaciaque superavit. VII. 8. Nam cum hic Sex. Roscius esset Ameriae, T. autem iste Roscius Romae; cum hic filius adsiduus in praediis esset, cumque se voluntate patris rei familiari vitaeque rusticae dedisset, iste autem frequens Romae esset, — occiditur ad balneas Palacinas rediens a cena Sex. Roscius. Spero ex hoc ipso non esse obscurum, ad quem suspitio malefici pertineat: verum id, quod adhuc est suspitiosum, nisi perspicuum res ipsa fecerit, hunc adfinem culpa*e* judicatote.

9. Occiso Sex. Roscio, primus Ameriam nuntiat Mallius Glaucia quidam, homo tenuis, libertinus, cliens et familiaris istius T. Rosci, et nuntiat domum non filii, sed T. Capitonis inimici; et cum post horam primam noctis occisus esset, primo diluculo nuntius hic Ameriam venit. Decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta milia passuum cisiis pervolavit, non modo ut exoptatum inimico nuntium primus adferret, sed etiam cruorem inimici quam recentissimum telumque paulo ante e corpore extractum ostenderet.

10. Quadriduo quo haec gesta sunt, res ad Chrysgonum in castra L. Sullae Volaterras defertur. Mag-

nitudo pecuniae demonstratur; <sup>excellent</sup> bonitas praediorum, (nam fundos decem et tris reliquit, qui Tiberim fere omnes tangunt), hujus inopia et solitudo commemoratur. Demonstrant, cum pater hujusce Sex. Roscius, homo tam splendidus et graciosus, nullo negotio sit occisus, perfacile hunc hominem incautum et rusticum, et Romae ignotum, de medio tolli posse. Ad eam rem operam suam pollicentur. Ne diutius teneam, judices, societas coitur. VIII. II. Cum nulla proscriptionis mentio fieret, cum etiam qui antea metuerant redirent, ac jam defunctos sese periculis arbitrarentur, nomen refertur in tabulas Sex. Rosci, studiosissimi nobilitatis. Manceps fit Chrysogonus. Tria praedia vel nobilissima Capioni propria traduntur, quae hodie possidet; in reliquas omnes fortunas iste T. Roscius, nomine Chrysogoni, quemadmodum ipse dicit, impetum facit. [Haec bona emuntur duobus milibus nummum.]

12. Haec omnia, judices, imprudente L. Sulla facta esse certo scio; neque enim mirum, — cum eodem tempore et ea quae praeterita sunt et ea quae videntur instare praeparet, cum et pacis constituendae rationem et belli gerendi potestatem solus habeat, cum omnes in unum spectent, unus omnia gubernet, cum tot tantisque negotiis distentus sit ut respirare libere non possit — si aliquid non animadvertat, cum praesertim tam multi occupationem ejus observent tempusque aucupentur, ut, simul atque ille despexerit, aliquid hujusce modi moliantur. Huc accedit, quod quamvis ille felix sit, sicut est, tamen [in] tanta felicitate nemo potest esse, in magna familia qui neminem neque servum neque libertum improbum habeat.

13. Interea iste T. Roscius, vir optimus, procurator Chrysogoni, Ameriam venit; in praedia hujus invadit; hunc miserum, luctu perditum, qui nondum etiam omnia paterno funeri justa solvisset, nudum eicit;

domo atque focis patriis disque penatibus praecipitem, judices, exturbat; ipse amplissimae pecuniae fit dominus. Qui in sua re fuisset egentissimus, erat, ut fit, insolens in aliena. Multa palam domum suam auferebat, plura clam de medio removebat; non pauca suis adjutoribus large effuseque donabat; reliqua constituta auctione vendebat: quod Amerinis usque eo visum est indignum, ut urbe tota fletus gemitusque fieret. IX. 14. Etenim multa simul ante oculos versabantur: mors hominis florentissimi Sex. Rosci crudelissima, filii autem ejus egestas indignissima, cui de tanto patrimonio praedo iste nefarius ne iter quidem ad sepulcrum patrum reliquisset, bonorum emptio flagitiosa, possessio, furta, rapinae, donationes. Nemo erat qui non ardere illa omnia mallet, quam videre in Sex. Rosci viri optimi atque honestissimi bonis jactantem se ac dominantem T. Roscium. 15. Itaque decurionum decretum statim fit, ut decem primi proficiscantur ad L. Sullam, doceantque eum qui vir Sex. Roscius fuerit; conquerantur de istorum scelere et injuriis; orent ut et illius mortui famam et filii innocentis fortunas conservatas velit. Atque ipsum decretum, quaeso, cognoscite.

[*Decretum Decurionum.*]

Legati in castra veniunt. Intellegitur, judices, id quod jam ante dixi, imprudente L. Sulla scelera haec et flagitia fieri. Nam statim Chrysogonus et ipse ad eos accedit et homines nobilis adlegat, ab eis qui peterent ne ad Sullam adirent, et omnia Chrysogonum quae vellent esse facturum pollicerentur. 16. Usque adeo autem ille pertimuerat, ut mori mallet quam de his rebus Sullam doceri. Homines antiqui, qui ex sua natura ceteros fingerent, cum ille confirmaret sese nomen Sex. Rosci de tabulis exempturum praedia vacua filio traditurum, cumque id ita futurum T. Roscius Capito, qui in decem legatis erat, appromitteret,

crediderunt: Ameriam re inorata reverterunt. Ac primo rem differre cotidie ac procrastinare isti coeperunt; deinde aliquanto lentius, nihil agere atque deludere; postremo—id quod facile intellectum est—insidias vitae hujusce [Sex. Rosci] parare, neque sese arbitrari posse diutius alienam pecuniam domino incolumi obtinere.

x. 17. Quod hic simul atque sensit, de amicorum cognatorumque sententia Romam confugit, et sese ad Caeciliam [Nepotis filiam], quam honoris causa nomino, contulit, qua pater ustus erat plurimum; in qua muliere, judices, etiam nunc (id quod omnes semper existimaverunt) quasi exempli causa vestigia antiqui officii remanent. Ea Sex. Roscium inopem, ejectum domo atque expulsum ex suis bonis, fugientem latronum tela et minas, recepit domum, hospitique oppresso jam desperatoque ab omnibus opitulata est. Ejus virtute, fide, diligentia factum est, ut hic potius vivus in reos quam occisus in proscriptos referretur.

18. Nam postquam isti intellexerunt summa diligentia vitam Sex. Rosci custodiri, neque sibi ullam caedis faciundae potestatem dari, consilium ceperunt plenum sceleris et audaciae, ut nomen hujus de parricidio deferrent, ut ad eam rem aliquem accusatorem veterem compararent, qui de ea re posset dicere aliquid, in qua re nulla subesset suspitio; denique ut, quoniam crimine non poterant, tempore ipso pugnarent. Ita loqui homines: quod judicia tam diu facta non essent, condemnari eum oportere, qui primus in iudicium adductus esset; huic autem patronos propter Chrysgoni gratiam defuturos; de bonorum venditione et de ista societate verbum esse facturum neminem; ipso nomine parricidi et atrocitate criminis, fore ut hic nullo negotio tolleretur, cum ab nullo defensus esset. Hoc consilio atque adeo hac amentia impulsus, quem ipsi cum cuperent non potuerunt occidere, eum jugulandum vobis tradiderunt.



XI. 19. Quid primum querar? aut unde potissimum, iudices, orđiar? aut quod aut a quibus auxilium petam? Deorumné immortalium, populine Romani, vestramne, qui summam potestatem habetis, hoc tempore fidem implorem? Pater occisus nefarie, domus obsessa ab inimicis, bona adempta, possessa, direpta, fili vita infesta, saepe ferro atque insidiis appetita, — quid ab his tot maleficiis sceleris abesse videtur? Tamen haec aliis nefariis cumulant atque adaugent: crimen incredibile confingunt, testis in hunc et accusatores huiusce pecunia comparant. Hanc condicionem misero ferunt, ut optet, utrum malit cervices Roscio dare, an, insutus in culeum, per summum dedecus vitam amittere. Patronos huic defuturos putaverunt: desunt: qui libere dicat, qui cum fide defendat, — id quod in hac causa est satis, — quoniam quidem suscepi, non deest profecto, iudices.

XIII. 20. Tres sunt res, quantum ego existimare possum, quae obstant hoc tempore Sex. Roscio: crimen adversariorum, et audacia, et potentia. Criminis confictionem accusator [Erucius] suscepit; audaciae partis Roscii sibi poposcerunt; Chrysogonus autem, is qui plurimum potest, potentia pugnat. De hisce omnibus rebus me dicere oportere intellego. Quid igitur est? Non eodem modo de omnibus, ideo quod prima illa res ad meum officium pertinet, duas autem reliquas vobis populus Romanus imposuit. Ego crimen oportet diluam; vos et audaciae resistere, et hominum ejus modi perniciosam atque intolerandam potentiam primo quoque tempore exstinguere atque opprimere debetis.

21. Occidisse patrem Sex. Roscius arguitur. Scelerestum, di immortales! ac nefarium facinus, atque ejus modi, quo uno maleficio scelera omnia complexa esse videantur. Etenim si, id quod praeclare a sapientibus dicitur, voltu saepe laeditur pietas, quod supplicium

satis acré reperietur in eum qui mortem obtulerit parenti, pro quo mori ipsum, si res postularet, jura divina atque humana cogeant? In hoc tanto, tam atroci, tam singulari maleficio, quod ita raro existit ut, si quando auditum sit, portenti ac prodigi simile numeretur, quibus tandem tu, C. Eruci, argumentis accusatorem censes uti oportere? Nonne et audaciam ejus qui in crimen vocetur singularem ostendere, et mores feros, immanemque naturam, et vitam vitiis flagitiisque omnibus deditam, [et] denique omnia ad perniciem profligata atque perdita? quorum tu nihil in Sex. Roscium, ne obiciendi quidem causa, contulisti.

XIV. 22. 'Patrem occidit Sex. Roscius.' Qui homo? Adulescentulus corruptus et ab hominibus nequam inductus? annos natus major quadraginta. Vetus videlicet sicarius, homo audax et saepe in caede versatus? at hoc ab accusatore ne dici quidem audistis. Luxuries igitur hominem nimirum, et aeris alieni magnitudo, et indomitae animi cupiditates ad hoc scelus impulerunt? De luxuria purgavit Erucius, cum dixit hunc ne in convivio quidem ullo fere interfuisse. Nihil autem umquam *cuiquam* debuit. Cupiditates perro quae possunt esse in eo qui, ut ipse accusator objecit, ruri semper habitavit, et in agro colendo vixit? — quae vita maxime disjuncta a cupiditate est, et cum officio conjuncta.

23. Quae res igitur tantum istum furorem Sex. Roscio objecit? 'Patri' inquit 'non placebat.' Quam ob causam? Necesse est enim eam quoque justam et magnam et perspicuam fuisse: nam, ut illud incredibile est, mortem oblatam esse patri a filio sine plurimis et maximis causis, sic hoc veri simile non est, odio fuisse parenti filium, sine causis multis et magnis et necessariis. Rursus igitur eodem revertamur, et quaeramus quae tanta vitia fuerint in unico filio, quare is patri displiceret. At perspicuum est nullum fuisse. Pater igitur

*cast-away*  
tam commune quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, litus ejectis? Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de caelo non queant. Ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat. Ita jactantur fluctibus, ut numquam adluantur. Ita postremo eiciuntur, ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui conquiescant.

30. Tanti malefici <sup>accusation</sup> crimē, cui maleficio tam insigne supplicium est constitutum, probare te, Eruci, censes posse talibus <sup>multis</sup> viris, si ne causam quidem malefici protuleris? Si hunc apud bonorum emptores ipsos accusares, eique <sup>iudicio</sup> Chrysogonus, praeesset, tamen diligentius paratiusque <sup>venisses</sup> venisses. <sup>Utrum</sup> quid agatur non vides, an apud quos agatur? Agitur de parricidio, quod sine multis causis suscipi non potest; apud homines autem prudentissimos agitur, qui intellegunt neminem ne minimum quidem maleficio sine causa <sup>esse</sup> admittē.

XXVII. 31. Esto: causam proferre non potes. Tam-  
 etsi statim vicisse debeo, tamen de meo jure decedam, et  
 tibi quod in alia <sup>causa</sup> non concederem in hac conce-  
 dam, ~~herus~~ <sup>fructus</sup> hujus innocentia. Non quaero abs te <sup>non</sup> qua-  
 re patrem Sex. Roscius occiderit: quaero quo <sup>modo</sup> modo  
 occiderit. Ita quaero abs te, C. Eruci, quo modo;  
 et sic tecum agam, ut meo loco vel respondendi vel  
 interpellandi tibi potestatem faciam, vel etiam, si quid  
 voles, interrogandi.

32. Quo modo occidit? Ipse percussit, an aliis occidendum dedit? Si ipsum arguis, Romae non fuit: si per alios fecisse dicis, quaero servosne an liberos? *si per liberos*, quos homines? indidemne America, an hosce ex urbe sicarios? si America, qui sunt hi? cur non nominantur? si Roma, unde eos novērāt Roscius, qui Romam multis annis non venit, neque umquam plus triduo fuit? ubi eos convenit? quicum locutus est? quo modo persuasit? 'Pretium dedit.' Cui dedit? per quem dedit? unde aut quan-

tum dedit? Nonne his vestigiis ad caput malefici per-  
veniri solet? Et simul tibi in mentem veniat <sup>facito</sup> <sup>et stat come</sup> quem ad modum vitam hujusce depinxeris: hunc  
hominem <sup>unde</sup> <sup>clownish</sup> ferum atque agrestem fuisse; numquam  
cum homine quoquam conlocutum esse; numquam  
in oppido constitisse. <sup>to have staid</sup>

33. Qua in re praetero illud, quod mihi maximo  
argumento ad hujus innocentiam poterat esse, in rus-  
ticis moribus, in victu arido, in hac horrida incultaque <sup>rough</sup> <sup>uncouth</sup>  
vita istius modi maleficia gigni non solere. Ut non  
omnem frugem neque arborem in omni agro reperire  
<sup>i.</sup> possis, sic non omne facinus in omni vita nascitur.  
In urbe luxuries creatur; ex luxuria existat avaritia  
necesse est, ex avaritia erumpat audacia; inde omnia  
scelera ac maleficia gignuntur. Vita autem haec  
rustica, quam tu agrestem <sup>rustic</sup> <sup>to the rustic</sup> vocas, parsimoniae, dili-  
gentiae, justitiae magistra est.

34. Verum haec missa facio. Illud quaero, — is  
homo, qui, ut tute dicis, numquam inter homines  
fuerit, per quos homines hoc tantum facinus tam oc-  
culte, absens praesertim, conficere potuerit. Multa  
sunt falsa, judices, quae tamen argui suspitiose pos-  
sunt; in his rebus si suspitio reperta erit, culpam  
inesse concedam. Romae Sex. Roscius occiditur,  
cum in agro Amerino esset filius. Litteras, credo,  
misit alicui sicario, qui Romae noverat neminem.  
'Arcessivit aliquem.' Quem aut quando? 'Nuntium  
misit.' Quem aut ad quem? 'Praetio, gratia, spe,  
promissis induxit aliquem.' Nihil horum ne confingi  
quidem potest, et tamen causa de parricidio dicitur!

35. Reliquum est ut per servos id admiserit. O di  
immortales! rem miseram et calamitosam, quod in  
tali crimine quod innocenti saluti solet esse, ut servos  
in quaestionem polliceatur, id Sex. Roscio facere non  
licet. Vos, qui hunc accusatis, omnis ejus servos  
habetis. Unus puer, victus cotidiani minister, ex tanta

familia Sex. Roscio relictus non est. Te nunc appello, P. Scipio, te, Metelle. Vobis advocatis, vobis agentibus, aliquotiens duos servos paternos in quaestionem ab adversariis Sex. Roscius postulavit. Meministisne T. Roscium recusare? Quid? ei servi ubi sunt? Chrysogonum, iudices, sectantur: apud eum sunt in honore et pretio. Etiam nunc ut ex eis quaeratur ego postulo, hic orat atque obsecrat. Quid facitis? cur recusatis? Dubitate etiam nunc, iudices, si potestis, a quo sit Sex. Roscius occisus, — ab eoque, qui propter illius mortem in egestate et in insidiis versatur, cui ne quaerendi quidem de morte patris potestas permittitur, an ab eis qui quaestionem fugitant, bona possident, in caede atque ex caede vivunt.

XLIII. 36. Venio nunc ad illud nomen aureum [Chrysogoni], sub quo nomine tota societas latuit: de quo, iudices, neque quo modo dicam neque quo modo taceam reperire possum. Si enim taceo, vel maximam partem relinquo; sin autem dico, vereor ne non ille solus, id quod ad me nihil attinet, sed alii quoque plures laesos se esse putent. Tametsi ita se res habet, ut mihi in communem causam sectorum dicendum nihil magno opere videatur; haec enim causa nova profecto et singularis est.

37. Bonorum Sex. Rosci emptor est Chrysogonus. Primum hoc videamus: ejus hominis bona qua ratione vepierunt, aut quo modo venire potuerunt? Atque hoc non ita quaeram, iudices, ut id dicam esse indignum, hominis innocentis bona venisse; si enim haec audientur ac libere dicentur, non fuit tantus homo Sex. Roscius in civitate, ut de eo potissimum conqueramur. Verum [ego] hoc quaero: qui potuerunt ista ipsa lege, quae de proscriptione est, — sive Valeria est, sive Cornelia, non enim novi nec scio, — verum ista ipsa lege bona Sex. Rosci venire qui potuerunt? Scriptum enim ita dicunt esse, *ut eorum bona veneant, qui pro-*

*scripti sunt*—quo in numero Sex. Roscius non est—*aut eorum qui in adversariorum praesidiis occisi sunt.* Dum praesidia ulla fuerunt, in Sullae praesidiis fuit; postea quam ab armis recessum est, in summo otio rediens a cena Romae occisus est. Si lege, bona quoque legē venisse fateor; sin autem constat, contra omnis non modo veteres leges verum etiam novas occisum esse, bona quo jure aut quo more aut qua lege venierint quaero.

XLIV. 38. In quem hoc dicam quaeris, Eruci? Non in eum quem vis et putas; nam Sullam et oratio mea ab initio et ipsius eximia virtus omni tempore purgavit. Ego haec omnia Chrysogonum fecisse dico, ut ementiretur, ut malum civem Roscium fuisse fingeret, ut eum apud adversarios occisum esse diceret, ut his de rebus a legatis Amerinorum doceri L. Sullam passus non sit. Denique etiam illud suspicor, omnino haec bona non venisse: id quod postea, si per vos, iudices, licitum erit, aperietur.

39. Opinor enim esse in lege, quam ad diem proscriptiones venditionesque fiant: [nimirum] *Kalendas Junias*. Aliquot post mensis et homo occisus est, et bona venisse dicuntur. Profecto aut haec bona in tabulas publicas nulla redierunt, nosque ab isto nebulone facilius eludimur quam putamus; aut, si redierunt, tabulae publicae corruptae aliqua ratione sunt: nam lege quidem bona venire non potuisse constat. Intellego me ante tempus, iudices, haec scrutari, et prope modum errare, qui, cum capiti Sex. Rosci mederi debeam, redyviam curem. Non enim laborat de pecunia; non ullius rationem sui commodi ducit; facile egestatem suam se laturum putat, si hac indigna suspicionem et ficto crimine liberatus sit.

40. Verum quaeso a vobis, iudices, ut haec paucae quae restant ita audiat, ut partim me dicere pro me ipso putetis, partim pro Sex. Roscio. Quae enim

mihi indigna et intolerabilia videntur, quaeque ad omnis, nisi providemus, arbitror pertinere, ea pro me ipso ex animi mei sensu ac dolore pronuntio; quae ad hujus vitae [casum] causam [que] pertineant, et quid hic pro se dici velit, et qua condicione contentus sit, jam in extrema oratione nostra, judices, audietis.

XLV. 41. Ego haec a Chrysogono, mea sponte, remoto Sex. Roscio, quaero: primum, qua re civis optimi bona venierint; deinde, qua re hominis ejus, qui *neque proscriptus* neque apud adversarios occisus est, bona venierint, cum in eos solos lex scripta sit; deinde, quare aliquanto post eam diem venierint, quae dies in lege praefinita est; deinde, cur tantulo venierint. Quae omnia si, quem ad modum solent liberti nequam et improbi facere, in patronum suum voluerit conferre, nihil egerit: nemo est enim qui nesciat propter magnitudinem rerum multa multos furtim imprudente L. Sulla commisisse.

42. Placet igitur in his rebus aliquid imprudentia praeteriri? Non placet, judices, sed necesse est. Etenim si Juppiter optimus maximus, cujus nūtu et arbitrio caelum terra mariaque reguntur, saepe ventis vehementioribus aut immoderatis tempestatibus aut nimio calore aut intolerabili frigore hominibus nocuit, urbis delevit, fruges perdidit, quorum nihil pernici causa divino consilio, sed vi ipsa et magnitudine rerum factum putamus; at contra, commoda quibus utimur lucemque qua fruimur spiritumque quem ducimus ab eo nobis dari atque impertiri videmus, — quid miramur L. Sullam, cum solus rem publicam regeret, orbemque terrarum gubernaret, imperique majestatem quam armis receperat legibus confirmaret, aliqua animadvertere non potuisse? Nisi hoc mirum est, quod vis divina adsequi non possit, si id mens humana adepta non sit.

43. Vereor, judices, ne quis imperitior existimet me

causam nobilitatis victoriamque voluisse laedere: tam-  
 etsi meo <sup>with perfect right</sup> iure possum, si quid in hac parte mihi ~~non~~  
 placeat, vituperare; non enim vereor ne quis alienum  
 me animum habuisse a causa nobilitatis existimet.  
 XLVII. Sciunt ei qui me norunt, me <sup>to the extent of my</sup> pro mea tenui  
 infirmaque parte, — postea quam id quod maxime  
 volui fieri non potuit, ut componeretur, — id maxime  
 defendisse, ut ei vincerent qui vicerunt. Quis enim  
 erat, qui non videret <sup>substantially</sup> humilitatem cum [dignitate de]  
<sup>rank or position</sup> amplitudine contendere? Quo in certamine perdit  
 civis erat non se ad eos jungere, quibus incolumibus,  
 et domi dignitas et foris auctoritas retineretur. Quae  
 perfecta esse et suum cuique honorem et <sup>rank</sup> gradum red-  
 ditum gaudeo, iudices, vehementerque laetor; eaque  
 omnia deorum voluntate, studio populi Romani, con-  
 silio et imperio et felicitate L. Sullae, gesta esse  
 intellego.

44. Quod <sup>that punishment has been inflicted against them</sup> animadversum est in eos qui contra omni-  
 ratione pugnarunt, non debeo <sup>have no right of censure</sup> reprehendere; quod  
 viris fortibus, quorum opera eximia in rebus gerendis  
 exstitit, honos habitus est, laudo. Quae ut fierent,  
 idcirco pugnatum esse, arbitror, meque in eo studio  
 partium <sup>was in favor of that party</sup> fuisse conctor. Sin autem id actum est, et  
 idcirco arma sumpta sunt, ut homines postremi pecu-  
 niis alienis locupletarentur, et in fortunas uniuscujus-  
 que impetum facerent, et id non modo re prohibere  
 non licet, sed ne verbis quidem vituperare, tum vero  
 in isto bello non recreatus neque restitutus, sed <sup>vero</sup> sub-  
 actus oppressusque populus Romanus est. Verum  
 longe aliter est; nihil horum est, iudices: non modo  
 non laedetur causa nobilitatis, si istis hominibus re-  
 sistetis, verum etiam ornabitur.

XLVIII. 45. Quapropter desinant aliquando dicere  
 male aliquem locutum esse, si qui vere ac libere locu-  
 tus sit; desinant suam causam cum Chrysogono com-  
 municare; desinant, si ille laesus sit, de se aliquid



detractum arbitrari; videant ne turpe miserumque sit eos, qui equestrem splendorem pati non potuerunt, servi nequissimi dominationem ferre posse. Quae quidem dominatio, iudices, in aliis rebus antea versabatur; nunc vero <sup>whither it is passing away</sup> quam viam muniter quod iter adfectet videtis, — ad fidem, ad jusjurandum, ad judicia vestra, ad id, quod solum prope in civitate sincerum sanctumque restat. Hicne etiam sese putat aliquid posse Chrysogonus? Hicne etiam potens esse volt? O rem miseram atque acerbam! Neque, mehercules, hoc indigne fero, quod verear ne quid possit; verum quod ausus est, quod speravit sese apud talis viros aliquid posse ad perniciem innocentis, id ipsum queror.

XLIX. 46. Idcircone expectata nobilitas armis atque ferro rem publicam recipiavit, ut ad libidinem suam liberti servolique nobilium <sup>wealth</sup> bona, fortunas <sup>possessions</sup> possessionesque nostras vexare possent? Si <sup>it is</sup> id actum est, fateor me errasse qui hoc maluerim; fateor insanisse qui cum illis senserim. Tametsi inermis, iudices, sensi. Sin autem victoria nobilium ornamento atque emolumento rei publicae populoque Romano debet esse, tum vero optimo et nobilissimo cuique meam orationem gratissimam esse oportet. Quod si quis est qui et se et causam laedi putet cum Chrysogonus vituperetur, is causam ignorat; se ipsum <sup>well</sup> probe novit. Causa enim splendidior fiet, si nequissimo cuique resistetur. Ille improbissimus Chrysogoni fautor, qui sibi cum illo rationem <sup>relations</sup> communicatam putat, laeditur, cum ab hoc splendore causae separatur.

47. Verum haec omnis oratio, ut jam ante dixi, mea est, qua me uti res publica et dolor meus et istorum injuria coëgit. Sex. Roscius horum nihil indignum putat, neminem accusat, nihil de suo patrimonio queritur. Putat homo imperitus morum, agricola et rusticus, ista omnia, quae vos per Sullam gesta esse dicitis, <sup>in the law</sup> more, lege, jure gentium facta. Culpa liberatus et crimine

*Content of business*

nefario solutus, cupit a vobis discedere. Si hac indigna suspitione caréat, animo aequo se carere suis omnibus commodis dicit. Rogat oratque te, Chrysogone, si nihil de patris fortunis amplissimis in suam rem convertit, si nulla in re te fraudavit, si tibi optima fide sua omnia concessit, adnumeravit, appendit, si vestitum quo ipse tectus erat, anulumque de digito suum tibi tradidit, si ex omnibus rebus se ipsum nudum neque praeterea quicquam exceperit, ut sibi per te liceat innocenti amicorum opibus vitam in egestate degere. L. 48. 'Praedia mea tu possides, ego aliena misericordia vivo: concedo, et quod animus aequus est, et quia necesse est. Mea domus tibi patet, mihi clausa est: fero. Familia mea maxima tu uteris, ego servum habeo nullum: patior et ferendum puto. Quid vis amplius? Quid insequeris? Quid oppugnas? Qua in re tuam voluntatem laedi a me putas? Ubi tuis commodis officio? Quid tibi obsto?' Si spoliolum causa vis hominem occidere, quid quaeris amplius? Si inimicitiarum, quae sunt tibi inimicitiae cum eo, cujus ante praedia possedisti quam ipsum cognovisti? Si metus, ab eone aliquid metuis, quem vides ipsum ab se tam atrocem injuriam propulsare non posse? Sin quod bona quae Rosci fuerunt tua facta sunt, idcirco hunc illius filium studes perdere, nonne ostendis id te vereri, quod praeter ceteros tu metuere non debeas, ne quando liberis proscriptorum bona patria reddantur?

49. Facis injuriam, Chrysogone, si majorem spem emptionis tuae in hujus exitio ponis, quam in eis rebus quas L. Sulla gessit. Quod si tibi causa nulla est cur hunc miserum tanta calamitate adfici velis, si tibi omnia sua praeter animam tradidit, nec sibi quicquam paternum ne monumenti quidem causa clam reservavit, per deos immortalis, quae ista tanta crudelitas est? Quae tam fera immanisque natura? Quis umquam praedo fuit tam nefarius, quis pirata tam barbarus, ut,

cum integrā praedam sine sanguine habere posset, cruenta spolia detrahēre mallet? 50. Scis hūc nihil habere, nihil audere, nihil posse, nihil umquam contra rem tuam cogitasse; et tamen oppugnās eū quem neque metuere potes, neque odisse debes, nec quicquam jam habere reliqui vides quod ei detrahēre possis. Nisi hoc indignum putas, quod vestitū sedere in iudicio vides, quem tu e patrimonio tamquam e naufragio nudum expulisti; quasi vero nescias hūc et ali et vestiri a Caecilia, [Baliarici filia, Nepotis sorore,] spectatissima femina, quae cum clarissimum patrem, amplissimos patruos, ornatissimum fratrem haberet, tamen, cum esset mulier, virtute perfecit ut, quanto honore ipsa ex illorum dignitate adficeretur, non minora illis ornamenta ex sua laude redderet.

LI. 51. An quod diligenter defenditur, id tibi indignum facinūs videtur? Mihi crede, si pro patris hujus hospitii et gratia vellent omnes hujus hospites adesse, et auderent libere defendere, satis copiose defenderetur; sin autem pro magnitudine injuriæ, proque eo quod summa res publica in hujus periculo temptatur, haec omnes vindicarent, consistere mehercule vobis isto in loco non liceret. Nunc ita defenditur, non sane ut moleste ferre adversarii debeant, neque ut se potentia superari putent. 52. Quae domi gerenda sunt, ea per Caeciliam transiguntur; fori iudicique rationem M. Messala, ut videtis, iudices, suscepit. Qui, si jam satis aetatis atque roboris haberet, ipse pro Sex. Roscio diceret: quoniam ad dicendum impedimento est aetas et pudor qui ornat aetatem, causam mihi tradidit, quem sua causa cupere ac debere intellegebat; ipse adsiduitate, consilio, auctoritate, diligentia perfecit, ut Sex. Rosci vita, erepta de manibus sectorum, sententiis iudicum permitteretur. Nimirum, iudices, pro hac nobilitate pars maxima civitatis in armis fuit; haec acta res est, ut ei nobiles restituerentur in civitatem,

qui hoc facerent quod facere Messalam videtis, — qui caput innocentis defenderent, qui injuriae resisterent, qui quantum possent in salute alterius quam in exitio mallent ostendere; quod si omnes qui eodem loco nati sunt facerent, et res publica ex illis et ipsi ex invidia minus laborarent.

LII. 53. Verum si a Chrysogono, judices, non impetramus, ut pecunia nostra contentus sit, vitam ne petat, — si ille adduci non potest, ut, cum ademerit nobis omnia quae nostra erant propria, ne lucem quoque hanc, quae communis est, eripere cupiat, — si non satis habet avaritiam suam pecunia explere, nisi etiam crudelitati sanguis praebitus sit, — unum periculum, judices, una spes reliqua est Sex. Roscio, eadem quae rei publicae, vestra pristina bonitas et misericordia. Quae si manet, salvi etiam nunc esse possumus; sin ea crudelitas, quae hoc tempore in re publica versata est, vestros quoque animos — id quod fieri profecto non potest — duriores acerbioresque reddidit, actum est, judices: inter feras satius est aetatem degere, quam in hac tanta immanitate versari. 54. Ad eamne rem vos reservati estis, ad eamne rem delecti, ut eos condemnaretis, quos sectores ac sicarii jugulare non potuissent? Solent hoc boni imperatores facere, cum proelium committunt, ut in eo loco quo fugam hostium fore arbitrentur milites conlocent, in quos, si qui ex acie fugerint, de improvviso incidant. Nimirum similiter arbitrantur isti bonorum emptores, — vos hic, talis viros, sedere, qui excipiat eos qui de suis manibus effugerint. Di prohibeant, judices, ut hoc, quod majores consilium publicum vocari voluerunt, praesidium sectorum existimetur.

55. An vero, judices, vos non intellegitis nihil aliud agi nisi ut proscriptorum liberi quavis ratione tollantur, et ejus rei initium in vestro jurejurando atque in Sex. Rosci periculo quaeri? Dubiumne est ad quem

maleficio pertineat, cum videatis ex altera parte sectorem, inimicum, sicarium eundemque accusatorem hoc tempore; ex altera parte egentem, probatum suis filium, in quo non modo culpa nulla, sed ne suspitio quidem potuit consistere? LIII. 56. Numquid huic aliud videtis obstare [Roscio], nisi quod patris bona venierunt? Quodsi id vos suscipitis, et eam ad rem operam vestram profitemini, si idcirco sedetis, ut ad vos adducantur eorum liberi quorum bona venierunt, cavete, per deos immortalis, iudices, ne nova et multo crudelior per vos proscriptio instaurata esse videatur. Illam priorem, quae facta est in eos qui arma capere potuerunt, tamen senatus suscipere noluit, nè quid acrius quam more majorum comparatum esset publico consilio factum videretur. Hanc vero, quae ad eorum liberos atque ad infantium puerorum incunabula pertinet, nisi hoc iudicio a vobis reicitis et aspernamini, videte, per deos immortalis, quem in locum rem publicam perventuram putetis.

57. Homines sapientes et ista auctoritate et potestate praeditos, qua vos estis, ex quibus rebus maxime res publica laborat, eis maxime mederi convenit. Vestrum nemo est quin intellegat populum Romanum, qui quondam in hostis lenissimus existimabatur, hoc tempore domestica crudelitate laborare. Hanc tollite ex civitate, iudices. Hanc pati nolite diutius in hac re publica versari. Quae non modo id habet in se mali, quod tot civis atrocissime sustulit, verum etiam hominibus lenissimis ademit misericordiam consuetudine incommo-  
dorum. Nam cum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus aut audimus, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, adsiduitate molestiarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus.

## IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES.

B.C. 70.

CAIUS VERRES, a man of noble birth, but notorious for his crimes and exactions in the civil war and in the offices he had held since, was city prætor (*prætor urbanus*) B.C. 74. At the close of his term of office, he went, in accordance with the law, as pro-prætor, to govern the province of Sicily. By reason of the disturbed condition of Italy, from the revolt of Spartacus, he was not relieved at the end of a year, as the law required, but continued two years longer in the government of the province, when he was succeeded by Lucius Cæcilius Metellus. During these three years he was guilty of the most abominable oppressions and exactions; and, as soon as they were relieved of his presence, the Sicilians brought a prosecution against him in the court of *Repetundæ* (for the trial of cases of Extortion), presided over by the prætor Manius Acilius Glabrio. To conduct the prosecution, they had recourse to Cicero, who already stood high among Roman advocates, and who was personally known and trusted by them on account of his honorable administration of the quæstorship in their island. Cicero willingly took charge of the case, the more so as the counsel for Verres was Hortensius, the leading lawyer of his time, against whom he was eager to measure his strength.

Although the cruelty and rapacity of Verres were notorious, yet his relations to the Roman nobility gained him the same support at home which recently, under somewhat similar circumstances, was afforded to Governor Eyre in England, on his return from Jamaica. Not only Hortensius, but Curio, a man of excellent reputation, with members of the eminent families of Scipio and Metellus, stood firmly by him. The only hope of Verres was in preventing a fair and speedy trial. First he tried to obtain a prosecutor who should be in collusion with him, and would not push him too hard. For this purpose one Cæcilius was put forward, an insignificant person, but a native of Sicily. Cicero's first speech in the case was therefore before the prætor Glabrio in person, to show that he, rather than Cæcilius, should be allowed to conduct the case. This it was not hard to do, and he set out at once for Sicily to collect evidence, for which purpose he was allowed one hundred

and ten days. He was, however, so industrious and skilful in this, that he returned in fifty days, thus completely foiling the next plan of the opposition, which was to bring on a trumped-up action before the court, which should have precedence of that against Verres, merely to consume time. Cicero returned, with ample evidence, even before his rival had left Italy. The trial was now fixed for Aug. 5, B.C. 70, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus.

Meantime (in the latter part of July) the elections were held for the next year, — as was the custom in Rome, several months before the newly-elected magistrates entered upon their offices; the successful candidate, under the title of *designatus*, enjoyed a dignity almost equal to that of an actual magistrate, although with no real power (see ch. ix.). In these elections Cicero was designated ædile; but his rival Hortensius was chosen consul, with Quintus Metellus Creticus, Verres' fast friend, as his colleague. More than this, Marcus Metellus, brother of Quintus, was chosen prætor, and the lot fell to him to preside the next year in the court of *Repetundæ*. If now the trial could be put over till the next year, when Hortensius and the two Metelli would be in the three most influential positions in the State, Verres felt quite sure of getting clear. Neither did it seem as if this would be very hard to bring about; for the last six months of the Roman year were so full of festivals and other days in which the courts could not sit, that the case would be liable to constant interruptions and delays. This would have been a sore disappointment to Cicero, for, by good luck in drawing the names, and sagacity in challenging, he had a jury that he could trust, and he was not willing to run the risk of a change.

Under these circumstances Cicero made the second speech of the Verrine group — that which is known as the *Actio Prima*. In this he proved so conclusively the guilt of the defendant and his hope to escape by bribery, and at the same time showed himself so determined to urge the case through before the New Year, that he hardly had any need to produce his witnesses. Hortensius soon threw up his case, and Verres went into exile, with a name for ever associated with extortion and misgovernment. Full restitution of the plunder was, however, not obtained: a compromise was made, by which a less sum was paid in satisfaction of the claims. The five speeches known as the "Accusation" (*Actio Secunda*) were never delivered, but were written out and published in order to put on record the facts which the orator had gathered with so much pains.

**Q**UOD erat optandum maxime, judices, et quod unum ad invidiam vestri ordinis infamiamque judiciorum sedandam maxime pertinebat, id non humano consilio, sed prope divinitus datum atque oblatum vobis summo rei publicae tempore videtur. Inveteravit enim jam opinio perniciosa rei publicae, vobisque periculosa, quae non modo apud populum Romanum, sed etiam apud exterarum nationes, omnium sermone percrebuit: his judiciis quae nunc sunt, pecuniosum hominem, quamvis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari. 2. Nunc, in ipso discrimine ordinis judiciorumque vestrorum, cum sint parati qui contionibus et legibus hanc invidiam senatus inflammare conentur, [reus] in iudicium adductus est [C. Verres], homo vita atque factis omnium jam opinione damnatus, pecuniae magnitudine sua spe et praedicatione absolutus.

Huic ego causae, judices, cum summa voluntate et expectatione populi Romani, actor accessi, non ut augerem invidiam ordinis, sed ut infamiae communi succurrerem. Adduxi enim hominem, in quo reconciliare existimationem judiciorum amissam, redire in gratiam cum populo Romano, satis facere exteris nationibus, possetis; depeculatorem aerari, vexatorem Asiae atque Pamphylicae, praedonem juris urbani, labem atque perniciem provinciae Siciliae. 3. De quo si vos vere ac religiose judicaveritis, auctoritas ea, quae in vobis remanere debet, haerebit; sin istius ingentes divitiae judiciorum religionem veritatemque perfregerint, ego hoc tamen adsequar, ut iudicium potius rei publicae, quam aut reus iudicibus, aut accusator reo, defuisse videatur.

II. *Equidem*, ut de me confitear, judices, cum multae mihi a C. Verre insidiae terra marique factae sint, quas partim mea diligentia devitarim, partim amicorum studio officioque repulerim; numquam tamen



neque tantum periculum mihi adire visus sum, neque tanto opere pertimui, ut nunc in ipso iudicio. 4. Neque tantum me exspectatio accusationis meae, concursusque tantae multitudinis, quibus ego rebus vehementissime perturbor, commovet, quantum istius insidiae nefariae, quas uno tempore mihi, vobis, M'. Glabrioni, populo Romano, sociis, exteris nationibus, ordini, nomini denique senatorio, facere conatur~~x~~ qui ita dictitat, eis esse metuendum, qui quod ipsis solis satis esset surripuissent; se tantum eripuisse, ut id multis satis esse possit; nihil esse tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit.

5. Quod si quam audax est ad conandum, tam esset obscurus in agendo, fortasse aliqua in re nos aliquando fefellisset. Verum hoc adhuc percommode cadit, quod cum incredibili ejus audacia singularis stultitia conjuncta est. ~~x~~ Nam, ut apertus in corripiendis pecuniis fuit, sic in spe corrumpendi iudici, perspicua sua consilia conatusque omnibus fecit. Semel, ait, se in vita pertimuisse, tum cum primum a me reus factus sit; quod, cum e provincia recens esset, invidiaque et infamia non recenti, sed vetere ac diuturna flagraret, tum, ad iudicium corrumpendum, tempus alienum offenderet. 6. Itaque, cum ego diem in Siciliam inquirendi perexiguam postulavissem, invenit iste, qui sibi in Achaiam biduo breviorum diem postularet,—non ut is idem conficeret diligentia et industria sua quod ego meo labore et vigiliis consetutus sum, etenim ille Achaicus inquisitor ne Brundisium quidem pervenit~~x~~ ego Siciliam totam quinquaginta diebus sic obii, ut omnium populorum privatorumque literas injuriasque cognoscerem; ut perspicuum cuivis esse posset, hominem ab isto quaesitum esse, non qui reum suum adduceret, sed qui meum tempus obsideret.

III. 7. Nunc homo audacissimus atque amentissimus hoc cogitat. Intellegit me ita paratum atque in-

structum in iudicium venire, ut non modo in auribus vestris, sed in oculis omnium, sua furta atque flagitia defixurus sim. *X* Videt senatores multos esse testis audaciae suae; videt multos equites Romanos frequentis praeterea civis atque socios, quibus ipse insignis injurias fecerit. *X* Videt etiam tot tam gravis ab amicissimis civitatibus legationes, cum publicis auctoritatibus convenisse. 8. Quae cum ita sint, usque eo de omnibus bonis male existimat; usque eo senatoria iudicia perditā profligataque esse arbitratur, ut hoc palam dictitet, non sine causa se cupidum pecuniae fuisse, quoniam in pecunia tantum praesidium experitur esse: sese (id quod difficillimum fuerit) tempus ipsum emisse iudici sui, quo cetera facilius emere postea posset; ut, quoniam criminum vim subterfugere nullo modo poterat, procellam temporis devitaret. *X*

9. Quod si non modo in causa, verum in aliquo honesto praesidio, aut in alicujus eloquentia aut gratia, spem aliquam conlocasset, profecto non haec omnia conligeret atque aucuparetur; non usque eo despiceret contemneretque ordinem senatorium, ut arbitratu ejus deligeretur ex senatu, qui reus fieret; qui, dum hic quae opus essent compararet, causam interea ante eum diceret. 10. Quibus ego rebus quid iste speret, et quo animum intendat, facile perspicio. *X* Quam ob rem vero se confidat aliquid perficere posse, hoc praetore, et hoc consilio, intellegere non possum. Unum illud intellego (quod populus Romanus in rejectione iudicium iudicavit), ea spe istum fuisse praeditum ut omnem rationem salutis in pecunia constitueret; hoc erepto praesidio, ut nullam sibi rem adjumento fore arbitraretur. *X*

IV. Etenim quod est ingenium tantum, quae tanta facultas dicendi aut copia, quae istius vitam, tot vitiis flagitiisque convictam, jampridem omnium voluntate iudicioque damnatam, aliqua ex parte possit defen-

dere? <sup>11</sup> Cujus ut adolescentiae maculas ignominiasque praeteream; quaestura [primus gradus honoris] quid aliud habet in se, nisi [Cn. Carbonem spoliatum] a quaestore suo pecunia publica nudatum et proditum consulem? desertum exercitum? relictam provinciam? sortis necessitudinem religionemque violatam? Cujus legatio exitium fuit Asiae totius et Pamphylicae: quibus in provinciis multas domos, plurimas urbis, omnia fana depopulatus est, tum cum [in Cn. Dolabellam] suum scelus illud pristinum renovavit et instauravit quaestorium. <sup>12</sup> Cum eum, cui et legatus et pro quaestore fuisset, et in invidiam suis maleficiis adduxit, et in ipsis periculis non solum deseruit, sed etiam oppugnavit ac prodidit? <sup>13</sup> Cujus praetura urbana aedium sacrarum fuit publicorumque operum depopulatio; simul in jure dicundo, bonorum possessionumque, contra omnium instituta, addictio et condonatio. Jam vero omnium vitiorum suorum plurima et maxima constituit monumenta et indicia in provincia Sicilia; quam iste per triennium ita vexavit ac perdidit, ut ea restitui in antiquum statum nullo modo possit. <sup>14</sup> Vix autem per multos annos, innocentisque praetores, aliqua ex parte recreari aliquando posse videatur. <sup>15</sup> Hoc praetore, Siculi neque suas leges, neque nostra senatus-consulta, neque communia jura tenuerunt. Tantum quisque habet in Sicilia, quantum hominis avarissimi et libidinosisissimi aut imprudentiam subterfugit, aut satietati superfuit.

v. Nulla res per triennium, nisi ad nutum istius, judicata est: nulla res cujusquam tam patria atque avita fuit, quae non ab eo, imperio istius, abjudicaretur. <sup>16</sup> Innumerabiles pecuniae ex aratorum bonis novo nefarioque instituto coactae; socii fidelissimi in hostium numero existimati; cives Romani servilem in modum cruciati et necati; homines nocentissimi propter pecunias judicio liberati; honestissimi atque

integerrimi, absentes rei facti, indicta causa damnati et ejecti; portus munitissimi, maximae tutissimaeque urbes piratis praedonibusque patefactae; nautae militesque Sicularum, socii nostri atque amici, fame necati; classes optimae atque opportunissimae, cum magna ignominia populi Romani, amissae et perditae.

14. Idem iste praetor monumenta antiquissima, partim regum locupletissimorum, quae illi ornamento urbibus esse voluerunt, partim etiam nostrorum imperatorum, quae victores civitatibus Siculis aut dederunt aut reddiderunt, spoliavit, nudavitque omnia. Neque hoc solum in statu is ornamentisque publicis fecit; sed etiam delubra omnia, sanctissimis religionibus consecrata, depeculatus est. Deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paulo magis adfabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. X In stupris vero et flagitiis, nefarias ejus libidines commemorare pudore deterreor: simul illorum calamitatem commemorando augere nolo, quibus liberos conjugesque suas integras ab istius petulantia conservare non licitum est.

15. At enim haec ita commissae sunt ab isto, ut non cognita sint ab hominibus? Hominem arbitror esse neminem, qui nomen istius audierit, quin facta quoque ejus nefaria commemorare possit; ut mihi magis timendum sit, ne multa crimina praetermittere, quam ne qua in istum fingere, existimer. Neque enim mihi videtur haec multitudo, quae ad audiendum convenit, cognoscere ex me causam voluisse, sed ea, quae scit, mecum recognoscere.

VI. Quae cum ita sint, iste homo amens ac perditus alia mecum ratione pugnat. Non id agit, ut alicujus eloquentiam mihi opponat; non gratia, non auctoritate cujusquam, non potentia nititur. Simulat his se rebus confidere, sed video quid agat (neque enim agit occultissime): proponit inania mihi nobilitatis, hoc est, hominum adrogantium, nomina; qui non tam me

impediunt quod nobiles sunt, quam adjuvant quod noti sunt. Simulat se eorum praesidio confidere, cum interea aliud quiddam jam diu machinetur.

16. Quam spem nunc habeat in manibus, et quid molitur, breviter jam, judices, vobis exponam: sed prius, ut ab initio res ab eo constituta sit, quaeso, cognoscite. Ut primum e provincia rediit, redemptio est hujus judici facta grandi pecunia. Mansit in condicione atque pacto usque ad eum finem, dum judices rejecti sunt. Postea quam rejectio judicum facta est—quod et in sortitione istius spem fortuna populi Romani, et in reiciendis iudicibus mea diligentia, istorum impudentiam vicerat—renuntiata est tota condicio. X

✓ 17. Praeclare se res habebat. Libelli nominum vestrorum, consilique hujus, in manibus erant omnium. Nulla nota, nullus color, nullae sordes videbantur his sententiis adlini posse: cum iste repente, ex alacri atque laeto, sic erat humilis atque demissus, ut non modo populo Romano, sed etiam sibi ipse, condemnatus videretur. Ecce autem repente, his diebus paucis comitiis consularibus factis, eadem illa vetera consilia pecunia majore repetuntur; eademque vestrae famae fortunisque omnium insidiae per eosdem homines comparantur. Quae res primo, judices, pertenui nobis argumento indicioque patefacta est: post, aperto suspicionis introitu, ad omnia intima istorum consilia sine ullo errore pervenimus.

VII. 18. Nam, ut Hortensius, consul designatus, domum reducebatur e Campo, cum maxima frequentia ac multitudine, fit obviam casu ei multitudini C. Curio; quem ego hominem honoris [potius quam contumeliae] causa nominatum volo. Etenim ea dicam, quae ille, si commemorari noluisset, non tanto in conventu, tam aperte palamque dixisset, quae tamen a me pedetentim cauteque dicentur; ut et amicitiae nostrae, et dignitatis illius, habita ratio esse intellegatur.

19. Videt ad ipsum fornicem Fabianum in turba Verrem: appellat hominem, et ei voce maxima gratulatur: ipsi Hortensio, qui consul erat factus, propinquis necessariisque ejus, qui tum aderant, verbum nullum facit: cum hoc consistit; hunc amplexatur; hunc jubet sine cura esse. 'Renuntio,' inquit, 'tibi, te hodiernis comitiis esse absolutum.' X Quod cum tam multi homines honestissimi audissent, statim ad me defertur: immo vero, ut quisque me viderat, narrabat. X Aliis illud indignum, aliis ridiculum, videbatur: ridiculum eis qui istius causam in testium fide, in criminum ratione, in judicum potestate, non in comitiis consularibus, positam arbitrabantur: indignum eis, qui altius aspiciebant, et hanc gratulationem ad judicium corrumpendum spectare videbant. 20. Etenim sic ratiocinabantur, sic honestissimi homines inter se et mecum loquebantur: aperte jam et perspicue nulla esse judicia. Qui reus pridie jam ipse se condemnatum putabat, is, postea quam defensor ejus consul est factus, absolvitur! Quid igitur? quod tota Sicilia, quod omnes Siculi, omnes negotiatores, omnes publicae privataeque litterae Romae sunt, nihilne id valebit? nihil, invito consule designato! Quid, judices? non crimina, non testis, non existimationem populi Romani sequentur? Non: omnia in unius potestate ac moderatione vertentur.

VIII. Vere loquar, judices: vehementer me haec res commovebat. Optimus enim quisque ita loquebatur: iste quidem tibi eripietur: sed nos non tenebimus judicia diutius. Etenim quis poterit, Verre absoluto, de transferendis judiciis recusare? X 21. Erat omnibus molestum: neque eos tam istius hominis perditum subita laetitia, quam hominis amplissimi nova gratulatio, commovebat. Cupiebam dissimulare me id moleste ferre: cupiebam animi dolorem vultu tegere, et taciturnitate celare. X Ecce autem, illis ipsis

diebus, cum praetores designati sortirentur, et M. Metello obtigisset, ut is de pecuniis repetundis quaereret; nuntiatur mihi, tantam isti gratulationem esse factam, ut is domum quoque pueros mitteret, qui uxori suae nuntiarent. ~~22~~. Sane ne haec quidem mihi res placebat: neque *tamen*, tanto opere quid in hac sorte metuendum mihi esset, intellegebam. Unum illud ex hominibus certis, ex quibus omnia comperi, reperiēbam: fiscos compluris cum pecunia Siciliensi, a quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse translato: ex his <sup>quasi</sup> decem fiscos ad senatorem illum relictos esse, <sup>on aet. 17</sup> comitiorum meorum nomine: <sup>managers</sup> ~~divisores~~ omnium tribuum noctu ad istum vocatos. ~~23~~. Ex quibus quidam, qui se omnia mea causa debere arbitrabatur, eadem illa nocte ad me venit ~~2~~ demonstrat, qua iste oratione usus esset: commemorasse istum, quam liberaliter eos tractasset [etiam] antea, cum ipse praeturam petisset, et proximis consularibus praetoriisque comitiis: deinde ~~continuo~~ esse pollicitum, quantam vellent pecuniam, si me aedilitate deiecissent. Hic alios ~~negasse~~ audere; alios respondisse, non putare id perfici posse: ~~in~~ inventum tamen esse fortem amicum, ex eadem familia, Q. Verrem, Romilia, ex optima divisorum disciplina, patris istius discipulum atque amicum, qui, HS quingentis milibus depositis, id se perfecturum polliceretur: et fuisse tum non nullos, qui se una facturos esse dicerent. Quae cum ita essent, sane benevolo animo me, ut magno opere cavere praemonebat.

IX. 24. Sollicitabar rebus maximis uno atque eo perexiguo tempore. Urgebant comitia; et in his ipsis oppugnabar grandi pecunia ~~2~~ Instabat iudicium: ei quoque negotio fisci Sicilienses minabantur. ~~2~~ Agere quae ad iudicium pertinebant libere, comitiorum metu deterrebar: petitioni toto animo servire, propter iudicium non licebat. Minari denique divisoribus ratio

non erat, propterea quod eos intellegere videbam me hoc iudicio districtum atque obligatum futurum.

25. Atque hoc ipso tempore Siculis denuntiatus esse audio, primum ab Hortensio, domum ad illum ut venirent: Siculos in eo sane liberos fuisse; qui quam ob rem arcesserentur cum intellegerent, non venisse.\* Interea comitia nostra, quorum iste se, ut ceterorum hoc anno comitiorum, dominum esse arbitrabatur, haberi coepta sunt. Cursare iste homo potens, cum filio blando et gratioso, circum tribus: paternos amicos, hoc est divisores, appellare omnes et convenire.† Quod cum esset intellectum et animadversum, fecit animo libentissimo populus Romanus, ut cujus divitiarum me de fide deducere non potuissent, ne ejusdem pecunia de honore deiceret.

26. Postea quam illa petitionis magna cura liberatus sum, animo coepi multo magis vacuo ac soluto, nihil aliud nisi de iudicio agere et cogitare. Reperio, iudices, haec ab istis consilia inita et constituta, ut, quacumque posset ratione, res ita duceretur, ut apud M. Metellum praetorem causa diceretur. In eo esse haec commoda, primum M. Metellum amicissimum; deinde Hortensium consulem non [solum, sed] etiam Q. Metellum, qui quam isti sit amicus attendite: dedit enim praerogativam suae voluntatis ejus modi, ut isti pro praerogativis eam reddidisse videatur.

27. An me taciturnum tantis de rebus existimavistis? et me, in tanto rei publicae existimationisque meae periculo, cuiquam consulturum potius quam officio et dignitati meae? Arcessit alter consul designatus Siculos: veniunt non nulli, propterea quod L. Metellus esset praetor in Sicilia. Cum iis ita loquitur: se consulem esse; fratrem suum alterum Siciliam provinciam obtinere, alterum esse quaesiturum de pecuniis repetundis; Verri ne noceri possit multis rationibus esse provisum.



x. 28. Quid est, quaeso, Metelle, iudicium corrumpere, si hoc non est? testis, praesertim [Siculos], timidos homines et adflictos, non solum auctoritate deterere, sed etiam consulari metu, et duorum praetorum potestate? Quid faceres pro innocente homine et propinquo, cum propter hominem perditissimum atque alienissimum de officio ac dignitate decedis, et committis, ut, quod ille dicitur, alicui, qui te ignoret, verum esse videatur? 29. Nam hoc Verrem dicere aiebant, te non fato, ut ceteros ex vestra familia, sed opera sua consulem factum. Quo igitur consules et quaesitor erunt ex illius voluntate. ‘Non solum effugiemus’ inquit ‘hominem in quaerendo nimum diligentem, nimum servientem populi existimationi, M’. Glabronem: accedet etiam nobis illud. Iudex est M. Caesonius, conlega nostri accusatoris, homo in rebus judicandis spectatus et cognitus, quem minime expediat esse in eo consilio quod conemur aliqua ratione corrumpere: propterea quod jam antea, cum iudex in Juniano consilio fuisset, turpissimum illud facinus non solum graviter tulit, sed etiam in medium protulit. Hunc iudicem ex Kal. Januariis non habebimus. 30. Q. Manlium, et Q. Cornificium, duos severissimos atque integerrimos iudices, quod tribuni plebis tum erunt, iudices non habebimus. P. Sulpicius, iudex tristis et integer, magistratum ineat oportet Nonis Decembribus. M. Crepereius, ex acerrima illa equestri familia et disciplina; L. Cassius ex familia cum ad ceteras res tum ad iudicandum severissima; Cn. Tremellius, homo summa religione et diligentia, — tres hi, homines veteres, tribuni militares sunt designati: ex Kal. Januariis non iudicabunt. 31. Subsortiemur etiam in M. Metelli locum, quoniam is huic ipsi quaestioni praefuturus est. Ita secundum Kalendas Januarias, et praetore et prope toto consilio commutato, magnas accusatoris minas, magnamque exspecta-

tionem judici, ad nostrum arbitrium libidinemque eludemus.

31. Nonae sunt hodie Sextiles : hora viii. convenire coepistis. Hunc diem jam ne numerant quidem. Decem dies sunt ante ludos votivos, quos Cn. Pompeius factururus est. Hi ludi dies quindecim auferent : deinde continuo Romani consequentur. Ita prope xl. diebus interpositis, tum denique se ad ea quae a nobis dicta erunt responsuros esse arbitrantur : deinde se ducturos, et dicendo et excusando, facile ad ludos Victoriae. Cum his plebeios esse conjunctos ; secundum quos aut nulli aut perpauca dies ad agendum futuri sunt. Ita defessa ac refrigerata accusatione, rem integram ad M. Metellum praetorem esse venturam : quem ego hominem, si ejus fidei diffisus essem, judicem non retinuissem. 32. Nunc tamen hoc animo sum, ut eo judice quam praetore hanc rem transigi malim ; et jurato suam quam injurato aliorum tabellas committere.

xi. Nunc ego, judices, jam vos consulo, quid mihi faciendum putetis. Id enim consili mihi profecto taciti dabit, quod egomet mihi necessario capiendum intellego. Si utar ad dicendum meo legitimo tempore, mei laboris, industriae, diligentiaeque capiam fructum ; et [ex accusatione] perficiam ut nemo umquam post hominum memoriam paratior, vigilantior, compositior ad judicium venisse videatur. Sed, in hac laude industriae meae, reus ne elabatur summum periculum est. Quid est igitur quod fieri possit ? Non obscurum, opinor, neque absconditum. 33. Fructum istum laudis, qui ex perpetua oratione percipi potuit, in alia tempora reservemus : nunc hominem tabulis, testibus, privatis publicisque litteris auctoritatibusque accusemus. Res omnis mihi tecum erit, Hortensi. Dicam aperte : si te mecum dicendo ac diluendis criminibus in hac causa contendere putarem, ego quoque in accusando

atque in explicandis criminibus operam consumerem; <sup>x</sup>nunc, quoniam pugnare contra me instituisti, non tam ex tua natura quam ex istius tempore et causa [malitiose], necesse est istius modi rationi aliquo consilio obsistere. 34. Tua ratio est, ut secundum binos ludos mihi respondere incipias; mea, ut ante primos ludos comperendinem. Ita fit ut tua ista ratio existimetur astuta, meum hoc consilium necessarium.

XII. Verum illud quod institueram dicere, mihi rem tecum esse, hujus modi est. Ego cum hanc causam Siculorum rogatu recepissem, idque mihi amplum et praeclarum existimassem, eos velle meae fidei diligentiaeque periculum facere, qui innocentiae abstinentiaeque fecissent; <sup>x</sup>tum suscepto negotio, majus quiddam mihi proposui, in quo meam in rem publicam voluntatem populus Romanus perspicere posset. 35. Nam illud mihi nequaquam dignum industria conatuque meo videbatur, istum a me in iudicium, jam omnium iudicio condemnatum, vocari, nisi ista tua intolerabilis potentia, et ea cupiditas qua per hosce annos in quibusdam iudiciis usus es, etiam in istius hominis desperati causa interponeretur. Nunc vero, quoniam haec te omnis dominatio regnumque iudiciorum tanto opere delectat, et sunt homines quos libidinis infamiaeque suae neque pudeat neque taedeat, — qui, quasi de industria, in odium offensionemque populi Romani inruere videantur, — hoc me profiteor suscepisse, magnum fortasse onus et mihi periculosissimum, verum tamen dignum in quo omnis <sup>x</sup>nervos aetatis industriae meae contenderem.

36. Quoniam totus ordo paucorum improbitate et audacia premitur et urgetur infamia iudiciorum, profiteor huic generi hominum me inimicum accusatorem, odiosum, adsidium, acerbum adversarium. Hoc mihi sumo, hoc mihi depono, quod agam in magistratu, quod agam ex eo loco ex quo me populus Romanus

ex Kal. Januariis secum agere de re publica ac de hominibus improbis voluit: hoc munus aedilitatis meae populo Romano amplissimum pulcherrimumque polliceor. Moneo, praedico, ante denuntio; qui aut deponere, aut accipere, aut recipere, aut polliceri, aut sequestres aut interpretes corrumpendi judici solent esse, quique ad hanc rem aut potentiam aut impudentiam suam professi sunt, abstineant in hoc judicio manus animosque ab hoc scelere nefario. ✓

XIII. 37. Erit tum consul Hortensius cum summo imperio et potestate; ego autem aedilis, hoc est, paulo amplius quam privatus. Tamen hujus modi haec res est, quam me acturum esse polliceor, ita populo Romano grata atque jucunda, ut ipse consul in hac causa prae me minus etiam (si fieri possit) quam privatus esse videatur. Omnia non modo commemorabuntur, sed etiam, expositis certis rebus, agentur, quae inter decem annos, postea quam judicia ad senatum translata sunt, in rebus judicandis nefarie flagitioseque facta sunt. 38. Cognoscet ex me populus Romanus quid sit, quam ob rem, cum equester ordo judicaret, annos prope quinquaginta continuos, in nullo iudice [equite Romano iudicante] ne tenuissima quidem suspitio acceptae pecuniae ob rem iudicandam constituta sit: quid sit quod, iudiciis ad senatorium ordinem translatis, sublataque populi Romani in unum quemque vestrum potestate, Q. Calidius damnatus dixerit, minoris HS triciens praetorium hominem honeste non posse damnari: quid sit quod, P. Septimio senatore damnato, Q. Hortensio praetore, de pecuniis repetundis aestimata sit eo nomine, quod ille ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accepisset; 39. quod in C. Herennio, quod in C. Popilio, senatoribus, qui ambo peculatus damnati sunt; quod in M. Atilio, qui de maiestate damnatus est, hoc planum factum sit, eos pecuniam ob rem iudicandam accepisse; quod inventi sint sena-

tores, qui, C. Verre praetore urbano sortiente, exirent in eum reum, quem incognita causa condemnarent; quod inventus sit senator, qui, cum iudex esset, in eodem iudicio et ab reo pecuniam acciperet quam iudicibus divideret, et ab accusatore, ut reum condemnaret? 40. Jam vero quomodo illam labem, ignominiam, calamitatemque totius ordinis conquerar? hoc factum esse in hac civitate, cum senatorius ordo iudicaret, ut discoloribus signis juratorum hominum sententiae notarentur? Haec omnia me diligenter severeque acturum esse, polliceor.

xiv. Quo me tandem animo fore putatis, si quid in hoc ipso iudicio intellexero simili aliqua ratione esse violatum atque commissum? cum planum facere multis testibus possim, C. Verrem in Sicilia, multis audientibus, saepe dixisse, 'se habere hominem potentem, cujus fiducia provinciam spoliaret: neque sibi soli pecuniam quaerere, sed ita triennium illud praeturae Siciliensis distributum habere, ut secum praeclare agi diceret, si unius anni quaestum in rem suam converteret; alterum patronis et defensoribus traderet; tertium illum uberrimum quaestuosissimumque annum totum iudicibus reservaret.'

41. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere (quod apud M'. Glabrimonem nuper cum id reiciundis iudiciis commemorassem, intellexi vehementer populum Romanum commoveri), me arbitrari, fore uti nationes exterae legatos ad populum Romanum mitterent, ut lex de pecuniis repetundis iudiciumque tolleretur. Si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum unum quemque ablatum putant, quantum sibi ac liberis suis satis esse arbitretur: nunc, quod ejus modi iudicia sint, tantum unum quemque auferre, quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, praetori, iudicibus, satis futurum sit: hoc profecto infinitum esse: se avarissimi hominis cupiditati satisfacere posse, nocentissimi victoriae non posse.

42. O commemoranda judicia, praeclaramque existimationem nostri ordinis! cum socii populi Romani judicia de pecuniis repetundis fieri nolunt, quae a majoribus nostris sociorum causa comparata sunt. An iste umquam de se bonam spem habuisset, nisi de vobis malam opinionem animo imbibisset? Quo majore etiam (si fieri potest) apud vos odio esse debet, quam est apud populum Romanum, cum in avaritia, scelere, perjurio, vos sui similis esse arbitretur.

xv. 43. Cui loco (per Deos immortalis!), judices, consulite ac providete. Moneo praedicoque — id quod intellego — tempus hoc vobis divinitus datum esse, ut odio, invidia, infamia, turpitudine, totum ordinem liberetis. Nulla in judiciis severitas, nulla religio, nulla denique jam existimantur esse judicia. Itaque a populo Romano contemnimur, despiciuntur: gravi diuturnaue jam flagramus infamia. 44. Neque enim ullam aliam ob causam populus Romanus tribuniciam potestatem tanto studio requisivit; quam cum poscebat, verbo illam poscere videbatur, re vera judicia poscebat. Neque hoc Q. Catulum, hominem sapientissimum atque amplissimum, fugit, qui (Cn. Pompeio, viro fortissimo et clarissimo, de tribunicia potestate referente), cum esset sententiam rogatus, hoc initio est summa cum auctoritate usus: ‘Patres conscriptos judicia male et flagitiose tueri: quod si in rebus iudicandis, populi Romani existimationi satis facere voluissent, non tanto opere homines fuisse tribuniciam potestatem desideraturos.’ 45. Ipse denique Cn. Pompeius, cum primum contionem ad Urbem consul designatus habuit, ubi (id quod maxime exspectari videbatur) ostendit se tribuniciam potestatem restitutum, factus est in eo strepitus, et grata contionis admurmuratio. Idem in eadem contione cum dixisset ‘populatas vexatasque esse provincias; judicia autem turpia ac flagitiosa fieri; ei rei se providere ac consu-

lere velle;’ tum vero non strepitu, sed maximo clamore, suam populus Romanus significavit voluntatem.

xvi. 46. Nunc autem homines in speculis sunt: observant quem ad modum sese unus quisque nostrum gerat in retinenda religione, conservandisque legibus. Vident adhuc, post legem tribuniciam, unum senatorem hominem vel tenuissimum esse damnatum: quod tamen non reprehendunt, tamen magno opere quod laudent non habent. Nulla est enim laus, ibi esse integrum, ubi nemo est qui aut possit aut conetur corrumpere. 47. Hoc est iudicium, in quo vos de reo, populus Romanus de vobis iudicabit. In hoc homine statuatur, possitne, senatoribus iudicantibus, homo nocentissimus pecuniosissimusque damnari. Deinde est ejus modi reus, in quo homine nihil sit, praeter summa peccata maximamque pecuniam; ut, si liberatus sit, nulla alia suspitio, nisi ea quae turpissima est, residere possit. Non gratia, non cognatione, non aliis recte factis, non denique aliquo mediocri vitio, tot tantaeque ejus vitia sublevata esse videbuntur.

48. Postremo ego causam sic agam, iudices: ejus modi res, ita notas, ita testatas, ita magnas, ita manifestas proferam, ut nemo a vobis ut istum absolvatis per gratiam conetur contendere. Habeo autem certam viam atque rationem, qua omnis illorum conatus investigare et consequi possim. Ita res a me agetur, ut in eorum consiliis omnibus non modo aures hominum, sed etiam oculi [populi Romani] interesse videantur. 49. Vos aliquot jam per annos conceptam huic ordini turpitudinem atque infamiam delere ac tollere potestis. Constat inter omnis, post haec constituta iudicia, quibus nunc utimur, nullum hoc splendore atque hac dignitate consilium fuisse. Hic si quid erit offensum, omnes homines non jam ex eodem ordine alios magis idoneos (quod fieri non potest), sed alium omnino ordinem ad res iudicandas quaerendum arbitrabuntur.

XVII. 50. Quapropter, primum ab Dis immortalibus, quod sperare mihi videor, hoc idem, iudices, opto, ut in hoc iudicio nemo improbus praeter eum qui jampridem inventus est reperiatur: deinde si plures improbi fuerint, hoc vobis, hoc populo Romano, iudices, confirmo, vitam (mehercule) mihi prius, quam vim perseverantiamque ad illorum improbitatem persequendam defuturam.

51. Verum, quod ego laboribus, periculis, inimicitiisque meis, tum cum admissum erit dedecus severe me persecuturum esse polliceor, id ne accadat, tu tua auctoritate, sapientia, diligentia, M'. Glabrio, potes providere. Suscipe causam iudiciorum: suscipe causam severitatis, integritatis, fidei, religionis: suscipe causam senatus, ut is, hoc iudicio probatus, cum populo Romano et in laude et in gratia esse possit. Cogita qui sis, quo loco sis, quid dare populo Romano, quid reddere majoribus tuis, debeas: fac tibi paternae legis [Aciliae] veniat in mentem, qua lege populus Romanus de pecuniis repetundis optimis iudiciis severissimisque iudiciis usus est. 52. Circumstant te summae auctoritates, quae te oblivisci laudis domesticae non sinant; quae te noctis diesque comoneant, fortissimum tibi patrem, sapientissimum avum, gravissimum socerum fuisse. Qua re si [Glabrionis] patris vim et acrimoniam ceperis ad resistendum hominibus audacissimis; si avi [Scaevolae] prudentiam ad prospiciendas insidias, quae tuae atque horum famae comparantur; si soceri [Scauri] constantiam, ut ne quis te de vera et certa possit sententia demovere; intelleget populus Romanus, integerrimo atque honestissimo praetore, delectoque consilio, nocenti reo magnitudinem pecuniae plus habuisse momenti ad suspicionem criminis, quam ad rationem salutis.

XVIII. 53. Mihi certum est, non committere ut in hac causa praetor nobis consiliumque mutetur. Non



patiar rem in id tempus adduci, ut [Siculi], quos adhuc servi designatorum consulum non moverunt, cum eos novo exemplo universos arcesserent, eos tum lictores consulum vocent; ut homines miseri, antea socii atque amici populi Romani, nunc servi ac supplices, non modo jus suum fortunasque omnis eorum imperio amittant, verum etiam deplorandi juris sui potestatem non habeant. 54. Non sinam profecto, causa a me perorata, [quadraginta diebus interpositis,] tum nobis denique responderi, cum accusatio nostra in oblivionem diuturnitate adducta sit: non committam, ut tum haec res judicetur, cum haec frequentia totius Italiae Roma discesserit; quae convenit uno tempore undique, comitiorum, ludorum, censendique causa. Hujus judicii et laudis fructum, et offensionis periculum, vestrum; laborem sollicitudinemque, nostram; scientiam quid agatur, memoriamque quid a quoque dictum sit, omnium puto esse oportere.

55. Faciam hoc non novum, sed ab eis qui nunc principes nostrae civitatis sunt ante factum, ut testibus utar statim: illud a me novum, judices, cognoscetis, quod ita testis constituam, ut crimen totum explicem; ut, ubi id [interrogando] argumentis atque oratione firmavero, tum testis ad crimen adcommodem: ut nihil inter illam usitatam accusationem atque hanc novam intersit, nisi quod in illa tunc, cum omnia dicta sunt, testes dantur; hic in singulas res dabuntur; ut illis quoque eadem interrogandi facultas, argumentandi dicendique sit. Si quis erit, qui perpetuam orationem accusationemque desideret, altera actione audiet: nunc id, quod facimus — ea ratione facimus, ut malitiae illorum consilio nostro occurramus — necessario fieri intellegat. Haec primae actionis erit accusatio. 56. Dicimus C. Verrem, cum multa libidine, multa crudeliter, in civis Romanos atque in socios, multa in deos hominesque nefarie fecerit tum praeterea quadringen-

tiens sestertium ex Sicilia contra leges abstulisse. Hoc testibus, hoc tabulis privatis publicisque auctoritatibus ita vobis planum faciemus, ut hoc statuatis, etiam si spatium ad dicendum nostro commodo, vacuosque dies habuissemus, tamen oratione longa nihil opus fuisse.

Dixi.

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*The Plunder of Syracuse.*

[Actio Secunda, Lib. IV. ch. 52-60.]

LII. UNUS etiam urbis omnium pulcherrimae atque ornatissimae, Syracusarum, direptionem commemorabo et in medium proferam, iudices, ut aliquando totam hujus generis orationem concludam atque definiam. Nemo fere vestrum est quin quem ad modum captae sint a M. Marcello Syracusae saepe audierit, non numquam etiam in annalibus legerit. Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, hujus praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, hujus cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, hujus libidines cum illius continentia : ab illo, qui cepit, conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit, captas dicetis Syracusas.

2. Ac jam illa omitto, quae disperse a me multis in locis dicentur ac dicta sunt : forum Syracusanorum, quod introitu Marcelli purum caede servatum esset, id adventu Verris Siculorum innocentium sanguine redundasse : portum Syracusanorum, qui tum et nostris classibus et Karthaginensium clausus fuisset, eum isto praetore Cilicum myoparoni praedonibusque patuisse : mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis, matres familias violatas, quae tum in urbe capta commissa non sunt neque odio hostili neque licentia militari neque more belli neque jure victoriae : mitto, inquam, haec omnia, quae ab isto per triennium perfecta sunt : ea, quae conjuncta cum illis rebus sunt, de quibus antea dixi, cognoscite.

3. Urbem Syracusas maximam esse Graecarum, pulcherrimam omnium saepe audistis. Est, judices, ita ut dicitur. Nam et situ est cum munito tum ex omni aditu, vel terra vel mari, praeclaro ad aspectum, et portus habet prope in aedificatione aspectuque urbis inclusos: qui cum diversos inter se aditus habeant, in exitu conjunguntur et confluent. Eorum conjunctione pars oppidi, quae appellatur Insula, mari dijuncta angusto, ponte rursus adjungitur et continetur.

LIII. 4. Ea tanta est urbs, ut ex quattuor urbibus maximis constare dicatur: quarum una est ea quam dixi Insula, quae duobus portibus cincta, in utriusque portus ostium aditumque projecta est, in qua domus est, quae Hieronis regis fuit, qua praetores uti solent. In ea sunt aedes sacrae complures, sed duae quae longe ceteris antecellant: Dianae, et altera, quae fuit ante istius adventum ornatissima, Minervae. In hac insula extrema est fons aquae dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium, qui fluctu totus operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum dijunctus esset a mari. 5. Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Achradina est: in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimae porticus, ornatissimum prytanium, amplissima est curia templumque egregium Jovis Olympii ceteraeque urbis partes, quae una via lata perpetua multisque transversis divisae privatis aedificiis continentur. Tertia est urbs, quae, quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est, in qua gymnasium amplissimum est et complures aedes sacrae: coliturque ea pars et habitatur frequentissime. Quarta autem est, quae quia postrema coaedificata est, Neapolis nominatur: quam ad summam theatrum maximum: praeterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberae signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum et maximum: quod iste si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre.

LIV. 6. Nunc ad Marcellum revertar, ne haec a me sine causa commemorata esse videantur: qui cum tam praeclaram urbem vi copiisque cepisset, non putavit ad laudem populi Romani hoc pertinere, hanc pulchritudinem, ex qua praesertim periculi nihil ostenderetur, delere et exstinguere. Itaque aedificiis omnibus, publicis privatis, sacris profanis, sic pepercit, quasi ad ea defendenda cum exercitu, non oppugnanda venisset. In ornatu urbis habuit victoriae rationem, habuit humanitatis. Victoriae putabat esse multa Romam deportare, quae ornamento urbi esse possent, humanitatis non plane exspoliare urbem, praesertim quam conservare voluisset. 7. In hac partitione ornatu non plus victoria Marcelli populo Romano appetivit quam humanitas Syracusanis reservavit. Romam quae apportata sunt, ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis itemque aliis in locis videmus. Nihil in aedibus, nihil in hortis posuit, nihil in suburbano: putavit, si urbis ornamenta domum suam non contulisset, domum suam ornamento urbi futuram. Syracusis autem permulta atque egregia reliquit: deum vero nullum violavit, nullum attigit. Conferte Verrem: non ut hominem cum homine comparetis, ne qua tali viro mortuo fiat injuria, sed ut pacem cum bello, leges cum vi, forum et juris dictionem cum ferro et armis, adventum et comitatum cum exercitu et victoria conferatis.

LV. 8. Aedis Minervae est in Insula, de qua ante dixi: quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit: quae ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est, non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionum et consuetudinis jura retineret, sed ut a barbaris praedonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta: his autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur. Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcel-

lus cum omnia victoria illa sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit iste, cum illa jam propter diuturnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnes eas tabulas abstulit: parietes, quorum ornatus tot saecula manserant, tot bella effugerant, nudos ac deformatos reliquit. 9. Et Marcellus, qui, si Syracusas cepisset, duo templa se Romae dedicaturum voverat, is id, quod erat aedificaturus, iis rebus ornare, quas ceperat, noluit: Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtuti, quem ad modum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet, is Minervae templum spoliare conatus est. Ille deos deorum spoliis ornari noluit: hic ornamenta Minervae virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit. Viginti et septem praeterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eadem aede sustulit: in quibus erant imagines Siciliae regum ac tyrannorum, quae non solum pictorum artificio delectabant, sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cognitione formarum. Ac videte quanto taetrior hic tyrannus Syracusanus fuerit quam quisquam superiorum: cum illi tamen ornarint templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum monumenta atque ornamenta sustulerit.

LVI. 10. Jam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi commemorem? Vereor ne, haec qui non viderint, omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur: quod tamen nemo suspicari debet, tam esse me cupidum, ut tot viros primarios velim, praesertim ex iudicum numero, qui Syracusis fuerint, qui haec viderint, esse temeritati et mendacio meo conscios. Confirmare hoc liquido, iudices, possum, valvas magnificentiores, ex auro atque ebore perfectiores, nullas umquam ullo in templo fuisse. Incredibile dictu est quam multi Graeci de harum valvarum pulchritudine scriptum reliquerint. Nimium forsitan haec illi mirentur atque efferant. Esto: verum tamen honestius est rei publicae nostrae,

judices, ea quae illis pulchra esse videantur imperatorem nostrum in bello reliquisse, quam praetorem in pace abstulisse. Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis: ea detrahenda curavit omnia. **II.** Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, cinctum anguib, revellit atque abstulit: et tamen indicavit se non solum artificio, sed etiam pretio quaestuque duci. Nam bullas aureas omnes ex iis valvis, quae erant multae et graves, non dubitavit auferre: quarum iste non opere delectabatur, sed pondere. Itaque ejus modi valvas relinquit, ut quae olim ad ornandum templum erant maxime, nunc tantum ad cludendum factae esse videantur. Etiamne gramineas hastas — vidi enim vos in hoc nomine, cum testis diceret, commoveri, quod erat ejus modi, ut semel vidisse satis esset; in quibus neque manu factum quicquam neque pulchritudo erat ulla, sed tantum magnitudo incredibilis, de qua vel audire satis esset, nimium videre plus quam semel — etiam id concupisti?

**LVII. 12.** Nam Sappho, quae sublata de prytanio est, dat tibi justam excusationem, prope ut concedendum atque ignoscendum esse videatur. Silanionis opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum quisquam non modo privatus, sed populus potius haberet quam homo elegantissimus atque eruditissimus, Verres? Nimirum contra dici nihil potest. Nostrum enim unus quisque — qui tam beati quam iste est non sumus, tam delicati esse non possumus — si quando aliquid istius modi videre volet, eat ad aedem Felicitatis, ad monumentum Catuli, in porticum Metelli; det operam ut admittatur in alicujus istorum Tusculanum; spectet forum ornatum, si quid iste suorum aedilibus commodarit: Verres haec habeat domi, Verres ornamentorum fanorum atque oppidorum habeat plenam domum, villas refertas? Etiamne hujus operari studia ac delicias, judices, perferetis? qui ita natus, ita educa-

tus est, ita factus et animo et corpore, ut multo appositior ad ferenda quam ad auferenda signa esse videatur. 13. Atque haec Sappho sublata quantum desiderium sui reliquerit dici vix potest. Nam cum ipsa fuit egregie facta, tum epigramma Graecum pernobile incisum est in basi: quod iste eruditus homo et Graeculus, qui haec subtiliter judicat, qui solus intellegit, si unam litteram Graecam scisset, certe non tulisset. Nunc enim, quod scriptum est inani in basi, declarat quid fuerit, et id ablatum indicat.

14. Quid? signum Paeanis ex aede Aesculapii praeclare factum, sacrum ac religiosum, non sustulisti? quod omnes propter pulchritudinem visere, propter religionem colere solebant. Quid? ex aede Liberi simulacrum Aristaei non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Quid? ex aede Jovis religiosissimum simulacrum Jovis Imperatoris, pulcherrime factum, nonne abstulisti? Quid? ex aede Liberae, † parinum caput illud pulcherrimum, quod visere solebamus, num dubitasti tollere? Atque ille Paean sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur: Aristaeus, qui [ut Graeci ferunt, Liberi filius] inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud illos eodem erat in templo consecratus.

LVIII. 15. Jovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? Conicere potestis, si recordari volueritis quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud, quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat Flamininus. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Jovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta: unum illud Macedonicum, quod in Capitolio vidimus; alterum in Pontiore et angustiis; tertium, quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit. Illud Flamininus ita ex aede sua sustulit, ut in Capitolio, hoc est, in terrestri domicilio Jovis poneret. Quod autem est ad introitum Ponti,

id, cum tam multa ex illo mari bella emergerint, tam multa porro in Pontum invecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum inviolatumque servatum est. Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolae Syracusani colere, advenae non solum visere, verum etiam venerari solebant, id Verres ex templo Jovis sustulit.

16. Ut saepius ad Marcellum revertar, iudices, sic habetote: plures esse a Syracusanis istius adventu deos, quam victoria Marcelli homines desideratos. Etenim ille requisisse etiam dicitur Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem ac disciplina, quem cum audisset interfectum, permolestè tulisse: iste omnia, quae requisivit, non ut conservaret, verum ut asportaret requisivit.

LIX. 17. Jam illa quae leviora videbuntur ideo praeteribo, — quod mensas Delphicas e marmore, crateras ex aere pulcherrimas, vim maximam vasorum Corinthiorum ex omnibus aedibus sacris abstulit Syracusis. Itaque, iudices, ei qui hospites ad ea quae visenda sunt solent ducere, et unum quidque ostendere, quos illi mystagogos vocant, conversam jam habent demonstrationem suam. Nam, ut ante monstrabant quid ubique esset, item nunc quid undique ablatum sit ostendunt.

18. Quid tum? mediocrine tandem dolore eos adfectos esse arbitramini? Non ita est, iudices: primum, quod omnes religione moventur, et deos patrios, quos a majoribus acceperunt, colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur: deinde hic ornatus, haec opera atque artificia, signa, tabulae pictae, Graecos homines nimio opere delectant. Itaque ex illorum querimoniis intellegere possumus, haec illis acerbissima videri, quae forsitan nobis levia et contemnenda esse videantur. Mihi credite, iudices. — tametsi vos-



met ipsos haec eadem audire certo scio, — cum multas acceperint per hosce annos socii atque exterae nationes calamitates et injurias, nullas Graeci homines gravius ferunt ac tulerunt, quam hujusce modi spoliationes fanorum atque oppidorum. X

19. Licet iste dicat emissee se, sicuti solet dicere, credite hoc mihi, iudices: nulla umquam civitas tota Asia et Graecia signum ullum, tabulam pictam, ullum denique ornamentum urbis, sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit, nisi forte existimatis, postea quam judicia severa Romae fieri desierunt, Graecos homines haec venditare coepisse, quae tum non modo non venditabant, cum judicia fiebant, verum etiam coëmebant; aut nisi arbitramini L. Crasso, Q. Scaevolae, C. Claudio, potentissimis hominibus, quorum aedilitates ornatissimas vidimus, commercium istarum rerum cum Graecis hominibus non fuisse, eis qui post iudiciorum dissolutionem aediles facti sunt fuisse.

LX. 20. Acerbiorem etiam scitote esse civitatibus falsam istam et simulatam emptionem, quam si qui clam surripiat aut eripiat palam atque auferat. Nam turpitudinem summam esse arbitrantur referri in tabulas publicas, pretio adductam civitatem (et pretio parvo) ea quae accepisset a maioribus vendidisse atque abalienasse. Etenim mirandum in modum Graeci rebus istis, quas nos contemnimus, delectantur. Itaque majores nostri facile patiebantur, haec esse apud illos quam plurima: apud socios, ut imperio nostro quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent; apud eos autem, quos vectigalis aut stipendiarios fecerant, tamen haec relinquebant, ut illi quibus haec jucunda sunt, quae nobis levia videntur, haberent haec oblectamenta et solacia servitutis.

21. Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui jam cives Romani sunt, merere velle, ut ab eis marmorea Venus illa auferatur? quid Tarentinos, ut Europam in tauro

amittant? ut Satyrum, qui apud illos in aede Vestae est? ut cetera? quid Thespienses, ut Cupidinis signum [propter quod unum visuntur Thespiae]? quid Cnidios, ut Venerem marmoream? quid, ut pictam, Coos? quid Ephesios, ut Alexandrum? quid Cyzicenos, ut Ajacem aut Medeam? quid Rhodios, ut Ialysum? quid Athenienses, ut ex marmore Iacchum aut Paralum pictum aut ex aere Myronis buculam? Longum est et non necessarium commemorare quae apud quosque visenda sunt tota Asia et Graecia: verum illud est quam ob rem haec commemorem, quod existimare hoc vos volo, mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos, ex quorum urbibus haec auferantur.

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*Crucifixion of a Roman Citizen.*

[Actio Secunda, Lib. V., ch. 61-66.]

QUID nunc agam? Cum jam tot horas de uno genere ac de istius nefaria crudelitate dicam, — cum prope omnem vim verborum ejus modi, quae scelere istius digna sint, aliis in rebus consumpserim, neque hoc providerim, ut varietate criminum vos attentos tenerem, — quem ad modum de tanta re dicam? Opinor, unus modus atque una ratio est. Rem in medio ponam, quae tantum habet ipsa gravitatis, ut neque mea (quae nulla est) neque cujusquam, ad inflammandos vestros animos, eloquentia requiratur.

2. Gavius hic, quem dico, Consanus, cum in illo numero civium Romanorum ab isto in vincla conjectus esset, et nescio qua ratione clam e lautumiis profugisset, Messanamque venisset, — qui tam prope jam Italiam et moenia Reginorum civium Romanorum videret, et ex illo metu mortis ac tenebris, quasi luce libertatis et odore aliquo legum recreatus, revixisset, — loqui

Messanae et queri coepit, se civem Romanum in vincla esse coniectum; sibi recta iter esse Romam; Verri se praesto advenienti futurum.

3. Non intellegebat miser nihil interesse, utrum haec Messanae, an apud istum in praetorio loqueretur. Nam (ut ante vos docui) hanc sibi iste urbem delegerat, quam haberet adjutricem scelerum, furtorum receptricem, flagitiorum omnium consciam. Itaque ad magistratum Mamertinum statim deducitur Gavius: eoque ipso die casu Messanam Verres venit. Res ad eum deferitur: esse civem Romanum, qui se Syracusis in lautumiis fuisse quereretur: quem, jam ingredientem in navem, et Verri nimis atrociter minitantem, ab se retractum esse et asservatum, ut ipse in eum statueret quod videretur.

4. Agit hominibus gratias, et eorum benevolentiam erga se diligentiamque conlaudat. Ipse, inflammatus scelere et furore, in forum venit. Ardebant oculi: toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat. Expectabant omnes, quo tandem progressurus aut quidnam acturus esset; cum repente hominem proripi, atque in foro medio nudari ac deligari, et virgas expediri jubet. Clamabat ille miser, se civem esse Romanum, municipem Consanum; meruisse cum L. Raecio, splendidissimo equite Romano, qui Panhormi negotiaretur, ex quo haec Verres scire posset. Tum iste, se comperisse eum speculandi causa in Siciliam a ducibus fugitivorum esse missum; cujus rei neque index, neque vestigium aliquod, neque suspitio cuiquam esset ulla. Deinde jubet undique hominem vehementissime verberari.

5. Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, iudices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi haec, *Civis Romanus sum!* Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera de-

*Arbitratur*  
pulsurum, cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum, arbitrabatur. Is non modo hoc non perfecit, ut virgarum vim deprecaretur; sed, cum imploraret saepius, usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux — crux, inquam — infelici et aerumnoso, qui numquam istam pestem viderat, comparabatur.

LXIII. 6. O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Semproniae! O graviter desiderata, et aliquando reddita plebi Romanae, tribunicia potestas! Hucine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis Romanus, in provincia populi Romani, in oppido foederatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi Romani fascis et securis haberet, deligatus in foro virgis caederetur? Quid? cum ignes ardentesque laminae ceterique cruciatus admovebantur, si te illius acerba imploratio et vox miserabilis non inhibebat, ne civium quidem Romanorum, qui tum aderant, fletu et gemitu maximo commovebare? In crucem tu agere ausus es quemquam, qui se civem Romanum esse diceret? 7. Nolui tam vehementer agere hoc prima actione, iudices: nolui. Vidistis enim, ut animi multitudinis in istum dolore et odio et communis periculi metu concitarentur. Statui egomet mihi tum modum orationi meae, et C. Numitorio, equiti Romano, primo homini, testi meo; et Glabrionem, id quod sapientissime fecit, facere laetatus sum, ut repente consilium in medio testimonio dimitteret. Et enim verebatur ne populus Romanus ab isto eas poenas vi repetisse videretur, quas veritus esset ne iste legibus ac vestro iudicio non esset persoluturus.

8. Nunc, quoniam exploratum est omnibus quo loco causa tua sit, et quid de te futurum sit, sic tecum agam: Gavius istum, quem repentinum speculatorem fuisse dicis, ostendam in lautumias Syracusis abs te esse conjectum. Neque id solum ex litteris ostendam Syracusanorum, ne possis dicere me, quia sit aliquis in

litteris Gavius, hoc fingere et eligere nomen, ut hunc illum esse possim dicere; sed ad arbitrium tuum testis dabo, qui istum ipsum Syracusis abs te in lautumias conjectum esse dicant. Producam etiam Consanos, municipes illius ac necesarios, qui te nunc sero doceant, iudices non sero, illum P. Gavius, quem tu in crucem egisti, civem Romanum et municipem Consanum, non speculatorem fugitivorum fuisse.

LXIV. 9. Cum haec omnia, quae polliceor, cumulate tuis patronis plana fecero, tum istuc ipsum tenebo, quod abs te mihi datur: eo contentum me esse dicam. Quid enim nuper tu ipse, cum populi Romani clamore atque impetu perturbatus exsiluisti, quid, inquam, locutus es? Illum, quod moram supplicio quaereret, ideo clamitasse se esse civem Romanum, sed speculatorem fuisse. Jam mei testes veri sunt. Quid enim dicit aliud C. Numitorius? quid M. et P. Cottii, nobilissimi homines, ex agro Tauromenitano? quid Q. Luceius, qui argentariam Regii maximam fecit? quid ceteri? Adhuc enim testes ex eo genere a me sunt dati, non qui novisse Gavius, sed se vidisse dicerent, cum is, qui se civem Romanum esse clamaret, in crucem ageretur. Hoc tu, Verres, idem dicis; hoc tu confiteris illum clamitasse, se civem esse Romanum; apud te nomen civitatis ne tantum quidem valuisse, ut dubitationem aliquam crucis, ut crudelissimi taeterrimique supplicii aliquam parvam moram saltem posset adferre.

10. Hoc teneo, hic haereo, iudices. Hoc sum contentus uno; omitto ac neglego cetera; sua confessione induatur ac juguletur necesse est. Qui esset ignorabas; speculatorem esse suspicabare. Non quaero qua suspitione: tua te accuso oratione. Civem Romanum se esse dicebat. Si tu, apud Persas aut in extrema India deprehensus, Verres, ad supplicium ducerere, quid aliud clamitares, nisi te civem esse Romanum? Et, si tibi ignoto apud ignotos, apud barbaros, apud

homines in extremis atque ultimis gentibus positos, nobile et inlustre apud omnis nomen civitatis tuae profuisset, — ille, quisquis erat, quem tu in crucem rapiebas, qui tibi esset ignotus, cum civem se Romanum esse diceret, apud te praetorem, si non effugium, ne moram quidem mortis, mentione atque usurpatione civitatis, adsequi potuit?

LXV. 11. Homines tenues, obscuro loco nati, navigant; adeunt ad ea loca quae numquam antea viderunt; ubi neque noti esse eis quo venerunt, neque semper cum cognitoribus esse possunt. Hac una tamen fiducia civitatis, non modo apud nostros magistratus, qui et legum et existimationis periculo continentur, neque apud civis solum Romanos, qui et sermonis et juris et multarum rerum societate juncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur; sed, quocumque venerint, hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futuram. 12. Tolle hanc spem, tolle hoc praesidium civibus Romanis; constitue nihil esse opis in hac voce, *Civis Romanus sum*; posse impune praetorem, aut alium quemlibet, supplicium quod velit in eum constituere qui se civem Romanum esse dicat, quod eum quis ignoret; jam omnis provincias, jam omnia regna, jam omnis liberas civitates, jam omnem orbem terrarum, qui semper nostris hominibus maxime patuit, civibus Romanis ista defensione praecluseris. Quid si L. Raecium, equitem Romanum, qui tum in Sicilia erat, nominabat? etiamne id magnum fuit, Panhormum litteras mittere? Adservasses hominem; custodiis Mamertinorum tuorum vinctum, clausum habuisses, dum Panhormo Raecius veniret; cognosceret hominem, aliquid de summo supplicio remitteres. Si ignoraret, tum, si ita tibi videretur, hoc juris in omnis constitueres, ut, qui neque tibi notus esset, neque cognitorem locupletem daret, quamvis civis Romanus esset, in crucem tolleretur.

LXVI. 13. Sed quid ego plura de Gavio? quasi tu

Gavio tum fueris infestus, ac non nomini, generi, juri civium hostis. Non illi (inquam) homini, sed causae communi libertatis, inimicus fuisti. Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini, more atque instituto suo, crucem fixissent post urbem, in via Pompeia, te jubere in ea parte figere, quae ad fretum spectaret; et hoc addere — quod negare nullo modo potes, quod omnibus audientibus dixisti palam — te idcirco illum locum deligere, ut ille, quoniam se civem Romanum esse diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere ac domum suam prospicere posset? Itaque illa crux sola, judices, post conditam Messanam, illo in loco fixa est. Italiae conspectus ad eam rem ab isto delectus est, ut ille, in dolore cruciatuque moriens, perangusto fretu divisa servitutis ac libertatis jura cognosceret; Italia autem alumnum suum servitutis extremo summoque supplicio adfixum videret.

14. Facinus est vincere civem Romanum; scelus verberare; prope parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere? verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. Non fuit his omnibus iste contentus. *Spectet (inquit) patriam: in conspectu legum libertatisque moriatur.* Non tu hoc loco Gavium, non unum hominem nescio quem, [civem Romanum,] sed communem libertatis et civitatis causam in illum cruciatum et crucem egisti. Jam vero videte hominis audaciam. Nonne eum graviter tulisse arbitramini, quod illam civibus Romanis crucem non posset in foro, non in comitio, non in rostris defigere? Quod enim his locis, in provincia sua, celebritate simillimum, regione proximum potuit, elegit. Monumentum sceleris audaciaeque suae voluit esse in conspectu Italiae, vestibulo Siciliae, praetervectione omnium qui ultro citroque navigarent.

## POMPEY'S MILITARY COMMAND.

(*For the Manilian Law.*)

B.C. 66.

THE last serious resistance made to the Roman power in the East was by Mithridates VI., king of Pontus, whose dominions embraced the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), including the kingdom of Bosphorus (Crimea) on the one hand, and Paphlagonia on the other; while the king of Armenia was closely allied to him by marriage. He was the most formidable enemy encountered by Rome after Hannibal, and there were three several wars between them. The first was conducted by Sulla (B.C. 88-84), who gained great successes, and obliged Mithridates to pay a large sum of money; the second (83-82) was a short and unimportant affair, in which Murena was worsted. The third broke out B.C. 74, and was conducted successfully by Lucius Licinius Lucullus, the ablest general of the aristocracy, who was distinguished for the severe justice of his administration in Asia Minor, and was an amiable and cultivated man, but of very luxurious habits.

When the war had continued for several years, the democratic faction (*populares*) took advantage of some temporary reverses sustained by Lucullus, and the unpopularity of his administration, to revoke his command, and give to the consul of B.C. 67, M'. Acilius Glabrio, — the same who presided at the trial of Verres, — the eastern war as his province. The law was proposed by the tribune A. Gabinius, one of the most active demagogues of the time. Another law, proposed by the same politician, required the Senate to appoint a commander of consular rank, with extraordinary powers for three years, by land and sea, to suppress the piracy which infested every part of the Mediterranean, having its chief seat in Cilicia. It was understood as a matter of course that Gnaeus (or Cneius) Pompey, who had been living in retirement since his consulship, B.C. 70, would receive this appointment. Pompey accomplished his task with the most brilliant success, and in three months had the seas completely cleared. (See below, chap. XII.)

Meantime Glabrio had shown himself wholly incompetent to conduct the war against Mithridates, and early in B.C. 66, the Tribune Caius Manilius, "an utterly incompetent and worthless man," pro-



posed a law extending Pompey's command over the entire East. Power like this was quite inconsistent with the republican institutions of Rome, and with the established authority of the Senate ; the law was of course opposed by the leaders of the aristocracy (*optimates*), led by Hortensius and Catulus. Cicero was now prætor. He was no democrat of the school of Gabinius and Cæsar ; on the other hand he had no hereditary sympathies with the Senate, and he probably failed to recognize the revolutionary character of the proposition, but considered merely its practical advantages : he therefore supported it with ardor. This was his first political speech. Before this time he had been a public-spirited lawyer ; from this time on he was essentially a politician, and it is not hard to see how unfavorably his character was influenced by contact with the corrupt politics of that day.

The Manilian Law was passed, and Pompey fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of his friends. He brought the Mithridatic War to an end, organized the Roman power throughout the East, and returned home B.C. 61, with greater prestige and glory than had ever been reached by any Roman before him.

**Q**UAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitæ meæ rationes ab ineunte ætate susceptæ prohibuerunt. Nam cum antea per ætatem nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem, statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. 2. Ita neque hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab eis qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam cum propter dilationem comitiorum ter prætor primus centuriis cunctis renunciatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid aliis præscri-

beretis. / Nunc cum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilant ex forensi usu prope cotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit adferre, certe et si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar qui eam mihi dederunt, et si quid in dicendo consequi possum, eis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo iudicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. / 3. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum jure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompei singulari eximiaque virtute: hujus autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

II. 4. Atque, — ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, — bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia cotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae: qui ad me, pro necessitudine quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: 5. Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse compluris; regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lucillum, magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

6. Causa quae sit videtis: nunc quid agendum sit considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejus modi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat: in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a majoribus cum magna in omnibus rebus tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum. III. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentis atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula [Mithridatico] bello superiore concepta, quae penitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine, — quod is, qui uno die, tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione [litterarum] civis Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. 8. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores; sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda quod egerunt, venia danda quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

iv. 9. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui [postea] cum maximas aedificasset ornassetque classis exercitusque permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset comparasset, et se Bosporanis finitimis suis bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, cum duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis. x

10. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompei divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo summo viro est administrata, ut initia illarum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpa, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea neque falsa adficta esse videatur: 11. de vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria — quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae — videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

v. Majores nostri saepe mercatoribus aut naviculariis nostris injuriosius tractatis bella gesserunt: vos, tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri totius Graeciae lumen extinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem immixtam civium Romanorum non tulerunt: vos ereptam vitam neglegetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi

rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. ✕ Etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. 18. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas conlocatas habent. ✕ Est igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. 1 Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos publica his amissis [vectigalia] postea victoria recuperare. Neque enim isdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque aliis voluntas propter timorem. 19. Deinde quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, cum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus Romae, solutione impedita, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et mihi credite id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Qua re videte num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium conjunctae cum re publica defendantur.

✕ VIII. 20. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest hoc enim dici, belli genus esse ita necessarium ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime

elaborandum est, ne forte *ea* vobis quae diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intellegant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico ejus adventu maximas Mithridati copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, adsiduitate, consilio, summis obsidionis periculis liberavit. ~~¶~~<sup>21.</sup> ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas, patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas ac refertas, ceterasque urbis Ponti et Cappadociae permultas, uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem, spoliatum regno patrio atque avito, ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentis supplicem contulisse; atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor haec esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intellegatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucillum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum. ¶

IX. 22. Requiretur fortasse nunc quem ad modum, cum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites. Non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in eis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum conlectio dispersa, maerorque

patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri conligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. 23. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes rex Armenius excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et adflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum postea quam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus eis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacesendas bello neque temptandas putavit: erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, tametsi urbem ex Tigrani regno ceperat, et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.

24. Hic jam plura non dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex eis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam processio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat, [et eorum] qui se ex ipsius regno conlegerant, et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. Jam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum adflictae fortunae facile multorum opes adliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut eis nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. 25. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus

optare. Nam cum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, — ut illam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram umquam attingeret, — sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poëtae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad auris [Luculli] imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor adferret. 26. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte eis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, — qui imperi diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, — partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem M'. Glabroni tradidit. ✕ Multa praetereo consulto, sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod jungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat, vetere exercitu pulso.

x. 27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum. Restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur. ✕

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis. ✕ Nunc vero — cum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum qui nunc sunt gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit — quae res est quae cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, — scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo



atque e pueritiae disciplinis bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adulescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste confligit quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adulescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli sed victoriis, non stipendiis sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense, [mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus,] servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

xī. 29. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae volgo existimantur, — labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo: quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. 30. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consili celeritate explicavit. Testis est Africa, quae, magnis oppressa hostium copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internecone patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae

saepissime plurimos hostis ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: quod bellum expectatione ejus attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. \*31. Testes nunc vero jam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia cum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus ut lateret? Quis navigavit qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, cum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? x Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? 32. Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbis esse sociorum?

xii. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare, et propugnaculis imperi sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausum fuisse dicam, cum exercitus vestri numquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent captos querar, cum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, cum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? 33. Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbis, innumerabilisque alias captas esse commemorem, cum vestros portus, atque eos portus

quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Cajetae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublato? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, cum, prope inspectantibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro di immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ei nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiat? 34. Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negoti aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? Qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit; inde Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit; 35. inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia [transalpina] praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus, Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit; ipse autem ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit; omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus se imperio ac potestati dederunt. Idem Cretensibus, cum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque

misissent, spem deditionis non ademit, obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. 36. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid ceterae, quas paulo ante commemorare coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt? Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae hujus administratae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum, quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores? quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia? quanta fide? quanta facilitate? quanto ingenio? quanta humanitate? Quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio consideremus: summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intellegi possunt. 37. Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus diviserit, aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini qui haec fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem; qua re irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum est, nostri exercitus ferant quis ignorat? 38. Itinera quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint recordamini: tum facilius statuetis quid apud exterarum nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum pluris arbitramini per hosce annos militum

vestrorum armis hostium urbis, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in iudicando, qui alios in se severos esse iudices non volt. 39. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent cotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur: non modo ut sump-tum faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

xiv. 40. Age vero: ceteris in rebus quali sit temperantia considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt; sed eae res quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. 41. Itaque omnes nunc in eis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur. Nunc imperi vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit. Nunc intellegunt non sine causa majores suos, tum cum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo

Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. 42. Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, — in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, — vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognovistis. Fidem vero ejus quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

xv. 43. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est quin ea res idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment quis ignorat, cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, — id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, — tanta et tam praeclara judicia fecistis? 44. An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, cum universus populus Romanus, referto foro completisque omnibus templis ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque — ut plura non dicam, neque aliorum exemplis confirmem quantum [hujus] auctoritas valeat in bello — ab eodem

Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur : qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix in summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset.

45. Jam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, — cum socii pertinuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, — amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria continuit, et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit? XVI. 46. Age vero, illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostis populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dederunt? quod a communi Cretensium legati, cum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique se omnis Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ei quibus erat [semper] molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exterarum nationum valituram esse existimetis.

47. Reliquum est ut de felicitate (quam praestare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum) timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisae dis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur. 48. Itaque non sum praedicaturus quantas ille res domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit; ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obdierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint: hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab dis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, cum communis salutis atque imperi tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49. Qua re, — cum et bellum sit ita necessarium ut neglegi non possit, ita magnum ut accuratissime sit administrandum; et cum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, — dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab dis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis? XVII. 50. Quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc



tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus : nunc cum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in eis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab eis qui habent accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus dis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

51. At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis adfectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingeni praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt. Quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor; sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem, atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, eidem isti vera esse concedunt, — et necessarium bellum esse et magnum, et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. 52. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, cum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti. 53. Quid? tum, per deos immortalis! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur, cum populi Romani legati quaestores prae-

toresque capiebantur? cum ex omnibus provinciis com-  
meatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? cum ita  
clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem  
transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

xviii. 54. Quae civitas antea umquam fuit, — non  
dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenu-  
isse dicitur; non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum  
classe ac maritimis rebus valuerint; non Rhodiorum,  
quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis  
et gloria remansit, — ~~sed~~ quae civitas umquam antea  
tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus  
suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae  
maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At (hercule) aliquot  
annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Ro-  
manus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen in-  
victum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magnā ac  
multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis  
atque imperi caruit. 55. Nos, quorum majores Antio-  
chum regem classe Persenque superarunt, omnibusque  
navalibus pugnis Karthaginiensis, homines in mariti-  
mis rebus exercitatissimos, paratissimosque, vicerunt,  
ei nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poteramus:  
nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed  
omnis socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperi sal-  
vos praestare poteramus, — tum cum insula Delos, tam  
procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undi-  
que cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta  
divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, — eidem non  
modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portu-  
bus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus; et eis  
temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in  
hunc ipsum locum escendere, cum eum nobis majores  
nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reli-  
quissent.

xix. 56. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus  
Romanus et ceteros qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere

existimavit ea quae sentiebatis: sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. 57. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, — Gabinio dicam an Pompeio, an utrique, id quod est verius, — ne legaretur A. Gabinus Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum quem velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, cum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias quos voluerunt legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus? 58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnis honoris causa nomino, cum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt: in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relatueros. Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum. Neque me impedit cujusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus vobis fretus vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam; neque praeter intercessionem quicquam audiam, de qua (ut arbitror) isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinus belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius ascribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

xx. 59. Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, — cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in [eo] ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortalis licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute. 60. ‘At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.’ Non dicam hoc loco majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse; semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse: non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta, duasque urbis potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperi poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret. 61. In ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil volt Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta recordamini. xxi. Quid tam novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? Confecit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradulescenti, cujus aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti, atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provin-

ciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. 62. Quid tam inusitatum quam ut, cum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore, cum esset non nemo in senatu qui diceret *non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule*, L. Philippus dixisse dicitur *non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere*. Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adulescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tum incredibile quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. 63. Atque haec tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Qua re videant ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompei dignitate a vobis comprobata semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine iudicium populiue Romani auctoritatem improbari; praesertim cum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnis qui dissentiant possit defendere, propterea quod, isdem istis reclamantibus, vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis quem bello praedonum praeponebatis. 64. Hoc si vos temere fecistis, et rei publicae pa-

rum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur. Sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos eis repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse talis propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. 65. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exterarum nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. 66. Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem. Noverunt enim sociorum volnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostis exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Qua re, etiam si quem habetis qui conlatis signis exercitus regiones superare posse videatur, tamen nisi erit idem, qui [se] a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus qui.

ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. 67. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quot annis pecunia publica praeter paucos; neque eos quicquam aliud adsequi, classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis et quibus condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. 68. Qua re nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbis suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.

Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cujus tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut cum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Qua re videte ut horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

xxiv. 69. Quae cum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano maneat in sententia, neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te

satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror: deinde cum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem quicquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingeni, quicquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quicquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero: 70. testorque omnis deos, et eos maxime qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentis eorum qui ad rem publicam adeunt maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompei gratiam mihi per hanc causam concitari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine aut praesidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus quaeram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. 71. Quam ob rem quicquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo; tantumque abest ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intellegam mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutilis suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis adfectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere.



## THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

B.C. 63.

DURING the absence of Pompey in the East (see the preceding Introduction), the politics of the city were kept in a constant ferment by the strife of parties. The violence and corruption of the time seemed to afford a fit opportunity for some daring enterprise. This opportunity was seized by Lucius Sergius Catilina. He was a man of noble birth, of middle age, and of the vilest character; an intimate friend of Verres, and like him distinguished for his infamous career in Sulla's army. He expected, probably, to make himself tyrant, as Dionysius and Agathocles — men no better than he — had done in Syracuse; but it was suspected at the time, and is believed by many at the present day, that he was, after all, only a tool of Cæsar and Crassus, the leaders of the democratic party.

Catiline's plan was to make use of the consulship as a stepping-stone to the tyranny; and with this end he desired to be a candidate for this office, for the year B.C. 65. He was shut out, however, both that year and the next, by a charge of *repetundæ*: of this he was at last acquitted, in season to present himself for the year B.C. 63. There was a very exciting canvass, which resulted in the election of Cicero by an overwhelming majority, while a confederate of Catiline, Caius Antonius — son of the distinguished orator, and uncle of the triumvir — was elected as his colleague. Catiline, nothing daunted, offered himself again for the following year, but was again defeated, mainly through the exertions of the consul Cicero, who had completely gained over his weak and greedy colleague Antonius. The rich province of Macedonia had fallen to Cicero by lot, for his proconsular year; but he transferred this to Antonius, on condition of his coöperation against Catiline.

Catiline would now wait no longer, but prepared for an immediate outbreak. As a private citizen he lost the advantages which the holding of the consulship would have given him, and the only member of the conspiracy who held a magistracy was the vain and indolent Lentulus, prætor and of consular rank. In the course of October, B.C. 63, a body of troops was collected at Fæsulæ (now *Fiesole*, close to Florence), a town in the north of Etruria; this was under the command of the centurion Caius Manlius, Catiline

himself remaining in the city to direct operations there. Cicero, meantime, had managed to keep track of the conspiracy in all its details; and, when Catiline had the effrontery to appear in his seat in the Senate, he burst upon him with a fiery invective, the first of the four "Orations against Catiline." Probably none of his speeches is better known than this, or conveys a better impression of his power as an orator.

### 1. *Invective against Catiline.*

In the Senate, Nov. 8.

**Q**UO usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? constrictam jam horum omnium scientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consili ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris? 2/6 a, 3

2. O tempora! O mores! Senatus haec intellegit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consili particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, fortes viri, satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus. Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis jam pridem oportebat; in te conferri pestem quam tu in nos [jam diu] machinaris. 3. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? 4 Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Mae-

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oportet.

lium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave. Non deest rei publicae consilium, neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

II. 4. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet. Nox nulla intercessit: interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica: num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis et C. Servilium praetorem [mors ac] rei publicae poena remorata est? At nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebeschere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusce modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri; sed jam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. 5. Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus conlocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus, intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero, credo, erit verendum mihi ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius a me, quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam.

Tum denique interficere, cum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis ipseiri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. 6. Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives; et vives ita ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis oppressus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios, nec privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis [ tuae ] potest? si inlustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem: mihi crede, obliviscere caedis atque incendiurum. Teneris undique: luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae jam mecum licet recognoscas. 7. Meministine me ante diem XII. Kalendas Novembris dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die — qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Kal. Novembris — C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me sefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum — id quod multo magis est admirandum — dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V. Kalendas Novembris, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitari potes te illo ipso die, meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum, commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu discessu ceterorum, nostra tamen qui remansissemus caede, te contentum esse dicebas? 8. Quid? cum te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu [ meis ] praesidiis custodiis vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

iv. *Recognosce tandem mecum noctem illam superiorem: jam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios — non agam obscure — in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem compluris ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.* 9. *O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus?* *Hic, hic sunt, in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hos ego video [consul] et de republica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce volnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina: distribuisti partis Italiae; statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret; delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres; descripsisti urbis partis ad incendia: confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum; dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem.* *Reperti sunt duo equites Romani qui te ista cura liberarent, et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfekturos esse pollicerentur.* 10. *Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi: domum meam majoribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi; exclusi eos quos tu ad me salutatum miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.*

v. *Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti. Egredere aliquando ex urbe: patent portae: proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnis tuos; si minus, quam plurimos: purga urbem. Magno me*

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~~metu~~ liberabis, ~~dum~~ modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. 11. Magna dis immortalibus habenda est, atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem toliens jam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. \* Quam diu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis (comitiis consularibus) me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato: denique, quotienscumque me (petisti) per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam, cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse conjunctam. 12. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam (universam) petis: templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam [denique] totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas. (Qua re,) quoniam id quod est primum, et quod hujus imperi disciplinaeque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id quod est ad severitatem lenius, et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus. Sin tu, quod te jam dudum hortor, exieris, exhauriatur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et pernicio sentina rei publicae.

\* 13. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me imperante facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exsilium? Non jubeo; sed, si me consulis, suadeo. vi. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non

inusta vitae tuae est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum inlecebris inretissēs, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? 14. Quid vero? nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnis impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties. Ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. 15. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catulina, aut hujus caeli spiritus esse jucundus, cum scias horum esse neminem qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Januarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? scelerum ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem [tuum], sed fortunam populi Rōmani obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto — neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa — quotiens tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones, ita conjectas ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et (ut aiunt) corpore effugi! [Nihil agis,] nihil adsequeris, [nihil moliris,] neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. 16. Quotiens tibi jam extorta est ista sica de manibus! quotiens vero excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! [Tamen ea carere diutius non potes,] quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere,

VII. Nunc vero quæ tua est ista vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut miseriordia, quæ tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam (contigit) nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? (Quid, quod) adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, (simul atque) adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo tibi ferendum putas? 17. Servi (mehercule) mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem: tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet. Tu, cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas quorum mentis sensusque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui, neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, tu (opinor) ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes. Nunc te patria, quæ communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit, et jam diu te nihil iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere, nec iudicium sequere, nec vim pertimesces?

18. Quæ tecum, Catilina, sic agit, et quodam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus existit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te: tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptionisque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera: tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti.' Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero



me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quicquid increpuerit Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede, atque hunc mihi timorem eripe: si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.' VIII. 19. Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? X Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandae suspicionis causa, ad M<sup>o</sup>. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? a quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es, atque ut domi meae te adservarem rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem quod isdem moenibus containeremur, ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti: a quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Marcellum demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum [te] diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodia iudicavit? 20. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras, et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugae solitudinique mandare?

X 'Refer' inquit 'ad senatum: ' id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus; et tamen faciam ut intellegas quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina; libera rem publicam metu; in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis? ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? 21. At si hoc

idem huic adulescenti optimo P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, jam mihi consuli, hoc ipso in templo, senatus jure optimo vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant: cum patiuntur, decernunt: cum tacent, clamant. Neque hi solum, — quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, — sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te jam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae vastare jam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. 22. Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditare? tu ut exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis — si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem — impendeat: sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas, et a rei publicae periculis sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocarit. X23. Quam ob rem, ut saepe jam dixi, proficiscere; ac, si mihi inimico (ut praedicas) tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum si id feceris; vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu: confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos civis, secerne te a bonis, infer patriae bellum, exsulta impio latro-

cinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris.

24. Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse praemissos qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? ~~Tu ut illa~~

~~carere diutius possis,~~ quam venerari ad caedem profisciscens solebas, a cujus altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti? ~~x.~~ 25. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti.

~~Nauctus~~ es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna verum etiam spe derelictis conflata~~m~~ improborum malum. 26. Hic tu qua~~m~~ laetitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis!

Ad hujus vitae studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, — jacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. 27. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id quod est a te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

xi. Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam

prope justam patriae querimoniam detester ac depre-  
cer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea  
penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim  
si mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior,  
si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica, loquatur: ‘M.  
Tulli, quid agis? Tunc eum, quem esse hostem com-  
peristi, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem expec-  
tari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem  
sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servorum  
et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non  
emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur?  
Non hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non  
summo supplicio mactari imperabis? 28. Quid tan-  
dem te impedit? Mores majorum? At persaepe etiam  
privati in hac re publica perniciosos civis morte mul-  
taverunt. An lege, quae de civium Romanorum sup-  
plicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe qui a  
re publica defecerunt civium jura tenuerunt. An in-  
vidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo  
Romano refers gratiam, qui te hominem per te cogni-  
tum, nulla commendatione majorum, tam mature ad  
summum imperium per omnis honorum gradus extulit,  
si propter invidiae aut alicujus periculi metum salutem  
civium tuorum negligis. 29. Sed si quis est invidiae  
metus, num est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis  
invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An  
cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta  
ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio con-  
flagraturum?’

XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus, et  
eorum hominum qui hoc idem sentiunt mentibus, pauca  
respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu judicarem,  
patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usu-  
ram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem.  
Etenim si summi et clarissimi viri Saturnini et Graccho-  
rum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non

modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem. X 30. Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminet non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulent: qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt, conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt: quorum auctoritatem secuti multi non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur. X Hoc autem uno interfecto, intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit, secumque suos eduxerit, et eodem ceteros undique conlectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium. X.

XIII. 31. Etenim jam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis conjurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati; periculum autem residebit, et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, cum aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberint, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque adflcantur; sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius reliquis vivis ingra-

vescet. 32. Qua' re secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique [id] (quod saepe jam dixi) discernantur a nobis: desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cujusque quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, inlustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

33. Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie, cumque eorum exitio qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Juppiter, qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis [a Romulo] es constitutus, quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperi vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium [omnium] arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostis patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

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## 2. *Character of the Conspiracy.*

Before the People, Nov. 9.

WHEN Cicero had finished his speech and taken his seat, Catiline attempted to reply, but was interrupted by the cries and reproaches of the Senators. With a few threatening words, he rushed from the house, and left the city the same night, for the camp of Manlius. The next morning the consul assembled the people, and announced to them the news, in the triumphant speech which follows.

I. 1. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammamque minitantem, ex urbe vel eiecimus, vel emisimus, vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur: non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus.] Palam jam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum [justum] geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus. 2. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem (ut voluit) extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumis civis, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratusque est, et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecit.

II. 3. Ac si quis est talis, qualis esse omnis oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emisim, non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum jam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos majorum et huius imperi severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis qui quae ego deferrem non crederent? [quam multos qui propter stultitiam non putarent?]

quam multos qui etiam defenderent? [quam multos qui propter improbitatem faverent?] Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. 4. Sed cum viderem, (ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata) si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnis secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Minucium, quorum aēs alienum contractum in popina nulum rei publicae motum adferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto aere alieno! quam valentis! quam nobilis! XIII. 5. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc dilectu quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, conlectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex eis qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. X Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod quicquid cogitant me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. 6. Video cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has



urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposce-  
rit: omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata esse  
sentiunt: patefeci in senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse  
pertimuit, profugit: hi quid exspectant? Ne illi ve-  
hementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem  
perpetuam sperant futuram.

iv. Quod exspectavi, jam sum adsecutus, ut vos  
omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem  
publicam videretis: nisi vero si quis est qui Catilinae  
similis cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam  
lenitati locus: severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum  
etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur; ne pati-  
antur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. De-  
monstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est: si adcelerare  
volent, ad vesperam consequentur. 7. O fortunatam  
rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis ejecerit!  
Uno (mehercule) Catilina exhausto, levata mihi et re-  
creata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris  
fingi aut cogitari potest quod non ille conceperit? Quis  
tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis  
sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector,  
quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adul-  
ter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis,  
quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum  
Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae cae-  
des per hosce annos sine illo facta est? quod nefarium  
stuprum non per illum? 8. Jam vero quae tanta um-  
quam in ullo homine juventutis inlecebra fuit, quanta in  
illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amori  
flagitiosissime serviebat: aliis fructum libidinum, aliis  
mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam  
adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non  
solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem nume-  
rum perditorum hominum conlegerat! Nemo non  
modo Romae, sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius  
Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc  
incredibile sceleris foedus asciverit.

v. 9. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae esse fateatur; nemo in scaena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione adsuefactus, frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumeret.

\* 10. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, O nos beatos! O rem publicam fortunatam! O praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae: nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt: res eos jam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. X Quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scortâ quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi: hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertis homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientis vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

\* 11. Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et poenam jam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut ~~istare~~ jam plane, aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet; in-

tus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites: suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut excant, aut quiescant, aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur expectent. X

VI. 12. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit: simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit. Quid? ut hesterno die, Quirites, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Jovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli: quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. 13. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo civis in exsilium eicio, quaesivi a Catilina in nocturno conventu ad M. Laecam fuisset necne. Cum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus, primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera: quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum securis, cum fascis, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium [scelerum] domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. 14. In exsilium eiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo,

Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille ejectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

X VII. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium converterit, — non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non (de) spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnat, innocens, in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis esse dicetur; et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint! 15. Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exsilium. Sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego a dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat: sed tri-duo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emissem potius quam quod ejecerim. Sed cum sint homines qui illum, cum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, eidem si interfectus esset quid dicerent? 16. Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massiliensis ire malit. Ille autem, si (me hercule) hoc quod agit numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem

se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc ~~praeter~~ ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, ~~optemus~~ potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.

VIII. 17. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de hoste qui jam ~~fateatur~~ se esse hostem, et quem, quia (quod semper volui) murus interest, non timeo: de eis qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque id qua re fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur: deinde singulis medicinam consili atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam.

18. Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno majores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima — sunt enim locupletes: voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, adquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium, tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant: meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae. Neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent, neque — id quod stultissimum est — certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt, aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturo.

IX. 19. Alterum genus est eorum qui, quamquam premuntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipendum videtur, — unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, — ut desperent id quod conantur se consequi posse : primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae ; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam in maxima multitudine, magnas praeterea copias militum ; deos denique immortalis huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi, contra tantam vim sceleris praesentis auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod cum summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, se consules ac dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros ? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse ?

20. Tertium genus est aetate jam adfectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum ; quo ex genere iste est Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Sunt homines ex eis coloniis quas Sulla constituit : quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio ; sed tamen ei sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit [eis] ab inferis excitandus : qui etiam non nullos agrestis, homines tenuis atque egentis, in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono. Sed eos hoc moneo : desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista

non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi pas-  
surae esse videantur.

x. 21. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et  
turbulentum, qui jam pridem premuntur, qui numquam  
emergunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo  
negotio, partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno  
vacillant; qui vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptione bo-  
norum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in  
illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam mili-  
tes acris quam infirmitates lentos esse arbitror. Qui  
homines primum, si stare non possunt, conruant; sed  
ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi  
sentiant. Nam illud non intellego, quam ob rem, si  
vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint; aut  
cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si  
soli pereant, arbitrentur.

22. Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum,  
denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilina  
non revoco; nam neque ab eo divelli possunt, et pere-  
ant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi ut eos  
carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus  
est non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque  
vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, — de ejus dilec-  
tu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu; quos pexo  
capillo, nitidos, aut imberbis aut bene barbatos videtis,  
manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos non togis,  
quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in ante-  
lucanis cenis expromitur. 23. In his gregibus omnes  
aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudique  
versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum  
amare et amari, neque saltare et cantare, sed etiam  
sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt; qui nisi  
exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote  
hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum.  
Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? Num suas  
secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad

modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim jam noctibus? Qua autem pacto illi Apenninum atque illas pruinas ac nivis perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI. 24. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus. Et primum gladiatori illi confecto et sancio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. 25. Sed si, omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, — senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus, — si, his rebus omissis, causas ipsas quae inter se confligunt contendere velimus, ex eo ipso quam valde illi jaceant intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, [virtutes omnes,] certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, [cum vitiis omnibus]; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In ejus modi certamine ac proelio, nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?



XII. 26. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum jam antea, vestra tecta custodiis vigiliisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidi, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursionem Catilinae, facile urbis suas finisque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, — quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, — potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem, aut omnis ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis, jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

27. Nunc illos qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictī sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas si cui adhuc solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id quod latebat erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae: si qui exire volunt, conivere possum. Qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantis, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. 28. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum, me uno togato

duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administro, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem ~~quisquam~~ in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat, paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi esse possitis. 29. Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendunt. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

### 3. *How the Conspiracy was suppressed.*

Before the People, Dec. 3.

Now that Catiline had been driven into open war, the conspiracy within the city was in the hands of utterly incompetent men. Lentulus, who claimed the lead by virtue of his consular rank, was vain, pompous, and inefficient. The next in rank, Cethegus, was energetic enough, but rash and bloodthirsty. The consul easily kept the run of events, and at last succeeded in getting them to commit themselves in writing, when he had no difficulty in securing the documents, and arresting the conspirators. How this was accomplished is told in the third oration.

I. 1. REM PUBLICAM, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros,

atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperi, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis, e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. 2. Et si non minus nobis jucundi atque inlustres sunt ei dies quibus conservamur, quam illi quibus nascimur, — quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio; et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, — profecto, quoniam illum qui hanc urbem condidit ad deos immortalis benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subjectos prope jam ignis circumdatosque restinximus; idemque gladios in rem publicam dstrictos rettudimus, mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. 3. Quae quoniam in senatu inlustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos qui ignoratis et expectatis scire possitis.

Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum scleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. II. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam, — non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit, — sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram, aut eos qui restitissent infirmos sine illo ac debilis fore putabam. 4. Atque ego, ut vidi quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam eos nobiscum esse, et Romae remansisse, in eo omnis dies noctisque consumpsi, ut quid agerent,

quid (molirentur, sentirem ac viderem; ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae provideretis, cum oculis malefīcium ipsum videretis. Itaque, ut comperi legatos Allobrogum, belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa, a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos civis, eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque eis adjunctum esse T. Volturcium, atque huic ad Catilinam esse datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut — quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus — tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur. 5. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi; rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt, et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt, atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipartito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspicionem multos fortis viros eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina compluris delectos adulescentis, quorum opera utor adsidue in re publica praesidio, cum gladiis miseram. 6. Interim, tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum jam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent, unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur ceteris.

III. Tum, interventu Pomptini atque Flacci, pugna [quae erat commissa] sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integrīs signis praetoribus tra-

duntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihil dum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius, et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilat. 7. Cum summis ac clarissimis hujus civitatis viris (qui audita re frequentes ad me mane conveniant) litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferrem placeret, — ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, — negavi me esse facturum, ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim Quirites, si ea quae erant ad me delata reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar, in tantis rei publicae periculis, esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. 8. Atque interea statim, admonitu Allobrogum, C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex aedibus Cethegi si quid telorum esset efferret: ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiatorum extulit. X

iv. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis: fidem publicam jussu senatus dedi: hortatus sum, ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, ab Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet: Ad autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus partibus quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat incendissent, caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientis exciperet, et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. 9. Introducti autem Galli ius jurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse

praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent; pedestris sibi copias non defuturas. Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse, ex fati Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse; eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperi, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. 10. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

v. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese quae eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent quae sibi eorum legati recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset, dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abjectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Statilius: cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam: confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo, et quaesivi cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero,' inquam, 'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et civis suos; quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.' 11. Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit; quaesivit a Gal-

lis quid sibi esset cum eis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito, scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset ostendit. Nam cum id posset infirari repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat omnis, improbitasque defecit. X

12. Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri jubet, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem [scriptae] sine nomine sed, ita: *Quis sim scies ex eo quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis, et cogita quem in locum sis progressus; vide ecquid tibi jam sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum.* Gabinius deinde introductus, cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex eis quae Galli insimulabant negavit.

13. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris, — tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio; tum multo certiora illa, — color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furim non numquam inter sese aspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur. X

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, senatum consului de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit exponam.

14. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur,

quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata : deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur ; atque etiam viro forti, conlegae meo, laus impertitur, quod eos qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent a suis et a rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur ; itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur ; atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est ex eis colonis quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione, tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium, novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata, reliquorum mentis sanari posse arbitraretur. 15. Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit. Et his verbis decreta est : *quod urbem incendiis, caede civis, Italiam bello liberassem.* Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus — quamquam patefactis indiciis, confessionibus suis, judicio senatus non modo praetoris jus, verum etiam civis amiserat — tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quae religio C. Mario, claris-



simo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. 16. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis omnis Catilinae copias, omnis spes atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, — remoto Catilina, non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum, nec L. Cassi adipem, nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat: appellare, temptare, sollicitare poterat, audebat: erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque manus neque lingua deērat. X Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret. Frigus, sitim, famem, ferre poterat. 17. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem, nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsem, — dicam id quod sentio, Quirites, — non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante exsili ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset; neque commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec tanta in re publica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe

ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset; neque nos umquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

VIII. 18. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur; idque cum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consili tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse; tū vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, — visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere di immortales viderentur, — hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. X

19. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus, compluris in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt, et statuae veterum hominum dejectae, et legum aera liquefacta: tactus est etiam ille qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum, et totius urbis atque imperi occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales, omni ratione placati, suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. 20 Itaque illorum responsis tum et Iudi per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla quae ad placandos deos pertineret praetermissa est; idemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere

majus, et in excelso conlocare, et (contra atque antea fuerat) ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperi, inlustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicere possent. Atque [illud signum] conlocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus, neque nobis ante hodiernum diem, conlocaretur.

ix. 21. Hic quis potest esse tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem, deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim cum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea per civis, — quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum non nullis incredibilia videbantur, — ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo conlocato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia [et senatus et vos] quae erant cogitata contra salutem omnium, inlustrata et patefacta vidistis.

22. Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignis inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam, et non sim ferendus. Ille, ille Juppiter restitit: ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos omnis salvos esse voluit. + Dis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi, atque ad haec tanta indicia perveni. X Jam vero [illa Allobrogum sollici-

tatio] ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantae res creditae et ignotis et barbaris [commissae litterae] numquam essent profecto, nisi ab dis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli, ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una restat quae bellum populo Romano facere posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperi ac rerum maximarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam neglegerent, vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus esse factum putatis? praesertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerint?

x. 23. Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores dis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu; erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione. Togati, me uno togato duce et imperatore, vicistis.

24. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnis civilis dissensiones: non solum eas quas audistis, sed eas quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit; [ejecit ex urbe] C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortis viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis expulit ex urbe conlegam: omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla: ne dici quidem opus est quanta diminutione civium, et quanta calamitate reipublicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum.

25. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones

erant ejus modi, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea quae esset, se esse principes; neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt. [Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicae quae-sivit, ejus modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internicione civium dijudicatae sint.] In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla umquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut salvi omnes conservaremini; et cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et civis integros incolumisque servavi.

XI. 26. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo, praeterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnis triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia condi et conlocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejus modi, quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, res nostrae alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et conrobora-buntur; eandemque diem intellego, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei; unoque tempore in hac re publica duos civis exstitisse, quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperi domicilium sedisque servaret.

XII. 27. Sed quoniam earum rerum quas ego gessi non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum qui externa bella gesserunt, — quod mihi cum eis vivendum est quos vici ac subegi, isti hostis aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, — vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentis enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent ego providi; ne mihi noceant vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est; magna in re publica dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet; magna vis conscientiae, quam qui neglegunt, cum me violare volent, se [ipsi] indicabunt. 28. Est etiam nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnis improbos ultra semper lancesamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum convertit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus: mihi quidem ipsi, quid est quod jam ad vitae fructum possit adquiri, cum praesertim neque in honore vestro, neque in gloria virtutis, quicquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat ascendere? 29. Illud profecto perficiam, Quirites, ut ea quae gessi in consulatu privatus tuear atque ornem: ut si qua est invidia conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, venerati Jovem, illum custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite; et ea, quamquam jam est periculum depulsum, tamen aeque ac priore nocte

custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo.

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#### 4. *Sentence of the Conspirators.*

In the Senate, Dec. 5.

Two days later the Senate was convened, to determine what was to be done with the prisoners. It was a fundamental principle of the Roman Constitution that no citizen should be put to death without the right of appeal to the people. Against the view of Cæsar, which favored perpetual confinement, Cicero urged the very lame argument that, by the fact of taking up arms against the Republic, they had forfeited their citizenship, and the law therefore did not protect them. This view prevailed, and the conspirators — Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cæparius — were strangled by the public executioners.

This was one of those acts of excessive vigor and severity which a man who feels himself deficient in decision of character—as Cicero was, at bottom—will sometimes force himself to commit. Had he had the strength to maintain himself as a leader in public affairs, it need not have hurt him in the end. As it was, he was soon pushed aside by men of genuine executive power, Pompey and Cæsar, and was made to suffer severely for his illegal act.

1. 1. VIDEO, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos. Video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas: sed eam, per deos immortalis, deponite; atque obliti salutis meae, de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate. Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnis acerbitates, omnis dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat<sup>ur</sup>. 2. Ego sum ille consul,

patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perflugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris [sella curulis] umquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei di immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, conjuges liberosque vestros virginesque Vestalis ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen, inductus a vatibus, fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse?

II. 3. Qua re, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite: mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare omnis deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi ac mereor relatuos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam, neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere, neque imatura consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear, horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor, et abjecta metu filia, et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui expectans hujus exitum diei adstat in conspectu meo



gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus.

4. Qua re, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite omnis procellas, quae impendent nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur: tenentur ei qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum, Romae restiterunt; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina arcessitur; id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. 5. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis jam iudiciis iudicavistis: primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis, et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjunctionem patefactam esse decrevistis; deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coëgistis; tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus iudicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis; maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo, hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia ejus modi, ut ei qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

6. Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto quid iudicetis, et de poena quid censeatis. Illa praedicam quae sunt con-

sulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem, et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala jam pridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjunctionem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfinis esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpibus, et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi ~~sustentando ac prolatando~~ nullo pacto potest. Quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. 7. Video adhuc duas esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnis acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos qui nos omnis, [qui populum Romanum,] vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos civis in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intellegit mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae, aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes numquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero et ea sempiterna certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispartiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem si imperare velis, difficultatem si rogare. Decernatur tamen, si placet. 8. Ego enim suscipiam, et (ut spero) reperiam qui id quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adjungit

gravem poenam municipibus, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: horribilis custodias circumdat, et dignas scelere hominum perditorum; sancit ne quis eorum poenam quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum, levare possit; eripit etiam spem, quae sola hominem in miseriis consolari ~~solet~~; bona praeterea publicari jubet; vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multos uno dolores animi <sup>et</sup> atque corporis et omnis scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque, ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejus modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intellegebant, eis remotis, non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

v. 9. Nunc, patres conscripti, ego mea video quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam quae popularis habetur secutus est, fortasse minus erunt — hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae — mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negoti contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Cæsare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem. 10. Video de istis, qui se popularis haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. ~~X~~ At is et nudius tertius in custodiam civis Romanos dedit, et supplicationem mihi decrevit, et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis adfecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. | At vero C. Cæsar intellegit legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui

autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem nullo modo esse posse; denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis jussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de perniciie populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe, tam crudeliter cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare, et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare, et in perniciem populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit: adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnis animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. 11. Quam ob rem, sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque juvendum; sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me [atque vos] crudelitatis vituperatione exsolveritis, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor — quis est enim me mitior? — sed singulari quadam humanitate et miseriordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem. Cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium. Versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi, et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. 12. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse ex fatiis se sperasse confessus est, pupuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco; et quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque

miseranda, idcirco in eos qui ea perficere voluerunt me severum vehementemque praebeo. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors, an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, — qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt; qui singulas unius cujusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt; qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperi conlocarent, — si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque perniciem fama subeunda est.

\* 13. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Cæsar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius tertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, cum avum suum jussu consulis interfectum, filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendae rei publicae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est, et partium quaedam contentio. Atque eo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. \* Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda rei publicae fundamenta Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego, et ceteros civis interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe

statuisse videamini : multo magis est verendum ne remissione poenae crudeles in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostis, fuisse videamur. X

VII. 14. Sed ea quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur ut habeam satis praesidi ad ea quae vos statueritis hodierno die transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa cura atque diligentia, cum multo etiam majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communis fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique ætatum : plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus templi ac loci. Causa est enim (post urbem conditam) haec inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos qui, cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. 15. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter, neque in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, di immortales ! qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt ! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem ? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consilique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent ; quos ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa conjungit : quam si conjunctionem, in consulatu confirmatam meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros ; scribas item universos, quos cum

casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. 16. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis est enim cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et [hoc] commune patriae solum, cum sit carum tum vero dulce atque jucundum? ✓

VIII. Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui, sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti, hanc suam patriam judicant, — quam quidam hic nati, et summo loco nati, non patriam suam sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non quantum audet et quantum potest conferat ad salutem voluntatis. X 17. Qua re si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, — est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum; sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perdit, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum qui in tabernis sunt, immo vero — id enim potius est dicendum — genus hoc universum, amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

18. Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi

Romani praesidia non desunt : vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete. IX. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte, non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum. Omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, voce consentiunt. Obsessa facibus et telis impiae conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis ; vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis ~~aras~~ Penatium, vobis illum ignem Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. \ Praeterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris, hodierno die vobis judicandum est. ~~X~~ 19. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur : habetis omnis ordines, omnis homines, universum populum Romanum — id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus — unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas, una nox paene delerit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo non confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum ; sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur. ~~X~~

X. 20. Nunc, (ante quam) ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video : sed eam judico esse turpem et infirmam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam,



patres conscripti, poenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est adsecutus. Ceteris enim semper bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica, gratulationem decrevistis. 21. Sit Scipio ille clarus, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbis huic imperio infestissimas, Karthaginem Numantiamque, delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paulus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit; sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit; anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes isdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriæ, — nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias quo exire possimus, quam curare ut etiam illi qui absunt habeant quo victores revertantur. 22. Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae, — quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt, aut recepti in amicitiam beneficio se obligatos putant; qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos cum a perniciæ rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare possis. Qua re mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio, memoriaque tantorum periculorum, — quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, — a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum, et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium, confringere et labefactare possit.

XI. 23. Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis, proque hac quam perspicitis ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia, nihil a vobis nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo : quae dum erit vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitrabor. X Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidi non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservavit, illum filium esse memineritis. 24. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populiue Romani, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica, decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet, et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit. X

## THE CITIZENSHIP OF ARCHIAS.

B.C. 62.

THE case of Archias, though not a public one, yet had its origin in the politics of the time. The aristocratic faction, suspecting that much of the strength of their opponents was derived from the fraudulent votes of those who were not citizens, procured in B.C. 65 the passage of the *Lex Papia*, by which "all the strangers, who possessed neither Roman nor Latin burgess-rights, were ejected from the capital" (Mommson). Archias, a native of Antioch, but for many years a Roman citizen, a friend of Lucius Lucullus, was accused in B.C. 62, by a certain Grattius, under this law, on the ground that he was not a citizen. The case was tried before the prætor Quintus Cicero, brother of the orator.

It was a very small matter to disprove the charge, and completely establish Archias's claims to citizenship. The greater part of the speech, therefore, is made up of an eulogy upon the poet, and upon poetry and literature in general. It is, for this reason, one of the most agreeable of Cicero's orations, and perhaps the greatest favorite of them all.

SI QUID est in me ingeni, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitor mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse, earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis, et pueritiæ memoriæ recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata, non nullis aliquando salutis fuit, a quo id accepimus quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis,

et opem et salutem ferre debemus. 2. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quaedam in hoc facultas sit ingeni, neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus umquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

II. 3. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur me in quaestione legitima et in iudicio publico — cum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos iudices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia — hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine iudiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat; quaeso a vobis, ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, adcommodatam huic reo, vobis (quem ad modum spero), non molestam, ut me pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum literatissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente iudicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paulo loqui liberius, et in ejus modi persona, quae propter otium ac studium minime in iudiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. 4. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum, cum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam si non esset, putetis asciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab eis artibus quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiae — nam ibi natus est loco nobili — celebri quondam urbe et copiosa, atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluente, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingeni gloria contigit. Post in

ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaeque Graeciae sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingeni exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. 5. Erat Italia tunc plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc eisdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non neglegebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Regini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque praemiis donarunt; et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt. Hac tanta celebritate famae cum esset jam absentibus notus, Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter cum res gestas tum etiam studium atque auris adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, cum praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sic etiam hoc non solum ingeni ac litterarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis, ut domus, quae hujus adulescentiae prima fuit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. 6. Erat temporibus illis jucundus Metello illi Numidico et ejus Pio filio; audiebatur a M. Aemilio; vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio; a L. Crasso colebatur; Lucullos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine cum teneret, adficie-batur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant. iv. Interim satis longo intervallo, cum esset cum M. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, et cum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracliam: quae cum esset civitas aequissimo jure ac foedere, ascribi se in eam civitatem voluit; idque, cum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracliensibus impetravit.

7. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis: *Si qui foederatis civitatibus ascripti fuissent; si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent; et si sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professi.* Cum hic domicilium Romae multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud praetorem Q. Metellum familiarissimum suum. 8. Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracliaeae esse tum ascriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari sed scire, non audisse sed vidisse, non interfuisse sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus iudicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio [venerunt]; qui hunc ascriptum Heracliensem dicunt. ✕ Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas: quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnis. Est ridiculum ad ea quae habemus nihil dicere, quaerere quae habere non possumus; et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare; et, cum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipi jus jurandum fide-que, ea quae depravari nullo modo possunt repudiare, tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare.

9. An domicilium Romae non habuit is, qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romae conlocavit? At non est professus. Immo vero eis tabulis professus, quae solae ex illa professione conlegioque praetorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem. v. Nam — cum Appi tabulae negligentius adservatae dicerentur; Gabini, quam diu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset — Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum praetorem et ad iudices venerit, et unius nominis litura se commo-

tum esse dixerit. *In* his igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licini videtis.

10. Quae cum ita sint, quid est quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, praesertim cum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit ascriptus? Etenim cum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte praeditis gratuito civitatem in Graecia homines impertiebant, Reginos credo aut Locrensis aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic summa ingeni praedito gloria noluisse! Quid? cum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas inrepererunt, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, reicietur?

11. Census nostros requiris scilicet. Est enim obscurum proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum fuisse; superioribus, cum eodem quaestore fuisse in Asia; primis Julio et Crasso nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed — quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantum modo indicat eum qui sit census [ita] se jam tum gessisse pro cive — eis temporibus quibus tu criminari ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule.

vi. Quaere argumenta, si qua potes: numquam enim hic neque suo neque amicorum iudicio revincetur.

12. Quaeres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur, et aures convitio defessae conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse quod cotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus; aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem,

nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui se ita litteris abdiderunt ut nihil possint ex eis neque ad communem adferre fructum, neque in aspectum lucemque proferre: me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, iudices, ut a nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit, aut voluptas avocarit, aut denique somnus retardarit? <sup>13</sup> Qua re quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi jure sus-  
censeat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc ideo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quae, quantacumque in me est, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quae summa sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam sentio. <sup>14</sup> Nam nisi multorum praeceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnis cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsili parvi esse ducenda, numquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum cotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas: quae jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines — non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum — fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt? Quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.



VII. 15. Quaeret quispiam: 'Quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt?' Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare, sed tamen est certe quod respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et gravis exstitisse, fateor: etiam illud adjungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque inlustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere existere. }  
16. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem Africanum; ex hoc C. Laelium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto si nihil ad percipiendam [colendam] virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen (ut opinor) hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum: haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

17. Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam cum in aliis videremus. VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Rosci morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu

tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus: nos animorum incredibilis motus celeritatemque ingeniorum neglegemus? \* 18. Quotiens ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices, — utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis, — quotiens ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de eis ipsis rebus quae tum agerentur dicere ex tempore! Quotiens revocatum eandem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quae vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem?

Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et praeceptis et arte constare: poëtam natura ipsa valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Qua re suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur. \* 19. Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtae nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos, instituti rebus optimis, non poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii praeterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt. \* IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? praesertim cum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam et

Cimbricas res adulescens attigit, et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad haec studia videbatur, jucundus fuit.

20. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum facile praeconium patiat<sup>ur</sup>. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret : *Ejus, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur*. Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea quae gesserat posse celebrari.

21. Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est : qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen inlustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura et regione vallatum : populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, non maxima manu innum<sup>er</sup>abilis Armeniorum copias fudit : populi Romani laus est urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum ejusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio atque totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam : nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis : nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monimenta, nostri triumphi. Quae quorum ingeniis efferuntur, ab eis populi Romani fama celebratur. 22. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore. At eis laudibus certe non solum ipse qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In caelum hujus proavus Cato tollitur : magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii, non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur. x. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores

nostri in civitatem receperunt: nos hunc Heracliensem, multis civitatibus expetitur, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate eiciemus?

23. Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat: propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Qua re si res eae quas gessimus orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare; quod cum ipsis populis de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt, tum eis certe, qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et laborum.

24. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: *O fortunate inquit adulescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!* Et vere. Nam nisi Ilias illa exstisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophrastum Mytilenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit; et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriae commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt?

25. Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur perficere non potuit. Sulla cum Hispanos donaret et Gallos, credo hunc petentem repudiasset: quem nos in contione vidimus, cum ei libellum malus poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset, tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex his rebus quas tunc vendebat jubere ei praemium tribui, sed ea condicione, ne quid postea scriberet.

Qui sedulitatem mafi poëtae duxerit aliquo tamen praemio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? 26. Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui praesertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubae nātis poëtis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen auris suas dederet.

xī. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum (quod obscurari non potest) sed prae nobis ferendum: trahimur omnes studio laudis, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi, etiam in eis libellis quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac nominari volunt. 27. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus vir et imperator, Acci, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. \* Jam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Qua re in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati iudices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

28. Atque ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, iudices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriae, nimis acri fortasse verum tamen honesto vobis, confitebor. Nam quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujusce imperi et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum adornavi. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, praeter hanc laudis et gloriae: qua quidem detracta, iudices, quid est quod in

hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo [et tam brevi] tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? <sup>29</sup>. Certe si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum, et si quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnis cogitationes terminaret suas; nec tantis se laboribus frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur, nec totiens de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimo quoque virtus, quae noctis ac dies animum gloriae stimulis concitat, atque admonet non cum vitae tempore esse dimittendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam.

XII. 30. An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, cum usque ad extremum spatium nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt; consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? ~~X~~ Ego vero omnia quae gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec vero sive a meo sensu post mortem afutura est, sive — ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt — ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

31. Qua re conservate, iudices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari cum dignitate tum etiam vetustate; ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitur, esse videatis; causa vero ejus modi, quae beneficio legis, auctoritate municipi, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quae cum ita sint, petimus a vobis, iudices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis com-

mendatio debet esse, ut eum qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis periculis aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur, estque ex eo numero qui semper apud omnis sancti sunt habiti itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiat fidei, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur.

32. Quae de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, iudices, ea confido probata esse omnibus. Quae autem remota a mea judicialique consuetudine, et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, iudices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta; ab eo qui iudicium exercet, certo scio.

X  
Dier. 16-1871

## NOTES.

### DEFENCE OF ROSCIUS.

#### *Argument.*

[Omitted portions in brackets.]

CHAP. I. *Exordium*. Cicero's reasons for undertaking the case. — [2. Political aspect of the trial, showing (a) why others refused to undertake it; (b) why the jury ought to be especially cautious] — *Narratio*. 6. The murder. — 7. Circumstances pointing to Magnus as the procurer: Chrysogonus informed, and a conspiracy made with him by Capito and Magnus — 8. Proscription and sale of property: Chrysogonus buys it up for a nominal sum. Sex. Roscius dispossessed. — 9. Amerians take up his cause and apply to Sulla, but are staved off by Capito, who was on the committee. — 10. Roscius flies to his friends at Rome: the conspirators commence the prosecution. — 11. Commiseration of his client's position, with review of the circumstances. — 13. *Partitio*: (a) the charge; (b) the reckless villany of the two T. R.; (c) influence of Chrysogonus. — *Defensio*: I. 14. The crime not in accordance with the character of the defendant: no motive can be shown: no enmity between father and son. — 15-17. His rustic employment: this is no evidence of ill-will. — 19. Alleged intention to disinherit: no proof. — 20. No case made out: hence the accuser (Erucius) is attacked for bringing such a charge. — 21. The case rests only on the negligence of the Court, and supposed friendliness of defendant. — 22. For the conspirators' manner changed when they found there would be a real defence. — Recapitulation: no motive existed; enormity of the crime, and severity of its punishment. — 23-26. Instances from real life and fiction. — 27, 28. No means of committing the crime. — [29. Again: the accuser's presumption in trying to force a conviction. — II. 30. Countercharge: T. Roscius the probable murderer: in his case there are motives. — 31. It was for his advantage. — 32. He was the murdered man's enemy. — 33. He had opportunities (compare the two cases). — 34. His acts after the murder: hasty message to Capito (his character). — 36. His testimony at the trial. — 37. Speedy announcement to Chrysogonus — apparently from the Roscii, for they have received the reward and possess the property. — 38, 39. Capito's perfidy to the committee. — 41. Magnus refuses the slaves for question. — 42. Influence of Chrysogonus.] — III. 43. Chrysogonus the purchaser: the sale illegal, for proscriptions had ceased. — 44-47. Lawlessness and insolence of Chrysogonus: Sulla artfully excused. — 48. No political necessity of conviction. — 49. Responsibility of the attack on Chrysogonus is Cicero's: Roscius asks only his life. — *Peroratio*. 50-51. Simulated appeal to Chrysogonus, to stir sympathy of the jury: incidental mention of the powerful friends of the defendant. — 52, 53. But if Chrysogonus does not spare him, he appeals confidently to the Court.

#### PAGE

2. § 1. *Credo . . . periculum vitant*. This paragraph may be analyzed as an example of the involved periodic style of Latin writers. The main clause is *credo ego*; the rest of the sentence is all the object of *credo* in the indirect discourse (§ 67, 1).\* The main verb of the discourse is *mirari* (changed from *miramini*),

\* The references are to the sections of Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar.



with **vos** in the accusative as its subject. The object of **mirari** is the indirect question **quid sit quod**, etc., embracing all the rest, changed from a direct question **quid est quod**, etc. Again, the subject of **sit** is all that follows, being a clause with **quod** (§ 70, 5), of which **surrexerim** is the main verb, and all the other clauses are modifiers. — The clause **cum . . . sedeant** is a kind of adverbial modifier of **surrexerim**, while the clause **qui . . . sim . . . comparandus** is a kind of adjective modifier of **ego** the subject of **surrexerim**, and **qui sedeant** is a kind of adjective modifier of **his**. — **omnes hi**, etc., is an independent sentence, but is connected in thought with the preceding, and explains the fact at which the jurors are supposed to be surprised, i.e., *I suppose you wonder*, etc., *but the fact is*, etc.

N B. Notice, as a practical guide, that in Latin (as in all languages) *the verb next following a relative is its verb*, — unless another relative intervenes, in which case the latter relative has its verb first, and the first relative clause is suspended; but even then, the next following verb will belong to the former relative. A careful attention to analysis, like that above, and the observance of this obvious but often forgotten rule, will carry a student safely through the most involved constructions.

**ego**: not emphatic itself, but only expressed to set off **vos**, which is. The Latin is so fond of putting pronouns in antithesis, that one is often (as here) expressed on purpose. — **judices**: not *judges*, but rather *jurors*. They were persons selected by law to try facts (under the presidency of a *prætor* or *judex questionis*), and were often quite numerous, from a single one to fifty or more.

In the year B. C. 149, an important reform was introduced into the criminal procedure of Rome, by establishing a *Quæstio Perpetua*, or standing Criminal Court, for trial of cases of extortion by provincial governors: the object of the suit was *res repetere* (to recover property), and the court was known as the *Quæstio Rerum Repetundarum*, or simply *Repetundarum*. A second court of murder — *de Sicariis et Veneficiis* — was (according to Mommsen) established shortly after, by Caius Gracchus; and perhaps others followed. The whole system was revised by Sulla, and six or eight separate courts were established, embracing the entire field of criminal offences. Each was under the presidency of a *Prætor*, appointed by lot, or *Judex Questionis*, appointed by the prætor for the special case. These new and remodelled courts went into operation in B. C. 80, and the case of Roscius was the first that came before them. His trial was before the *Quæstio inter Sicarios*, under the presidency of the prætor, Marcus Fannius. The *judices*, or jury in all these courts, were originally selected from the Senators; Caius Gracchus had transferred the right to the *Equites*, or wealthy middle class; Sulla restored it to the Senators, but ten years later (B. C. 70) a new arrangement was made (see Verr. l. 15).

**quid sit quod**, *why it is that*. Here **quod . . . surrexerim** is a clause of *fact* (§ 70, 5), taking the subj. on account of the indirect question. — **summi oratores, homines nobilissimi**: notice the inversion (*chiasmus*, § 76, 1, f). — **sedeant**: subj. because **cum** is *causal* (§ 63, 2, b), though to be translated *when*, or *while*. Since Sulla's victory had restored the aristocracy to power, it might be expected that men of rank (*nobilissimi*) would have courage to come forward to defend Roscius: their presence (*sedeant*) showed their

sympathies. — **ego**: emphatic, as opposed to the orators and men of rank. — **potissimum**, *rather than any other* (§ 17, 4). — **ætate**: Cicero was now but 26 years old. — **auctoritate**, *personal influence*, particularly that derived from rank, or office. — **sim**: in direct disc. this might be either subj. to indicate the character of Cicero, or ind. to denote a mere fact about him; but here necessarily subj. on account of the indirect question (§ 66, 2). — **hi**: strongly demonstrative and accompanied, perhaps, with a gesture, — *these men here*. — **injuriā**, *injustice*. — **novo scelere** (abl. of means), *the strange charge of parricide*. — **conflatam**, *got up*, implying a conspiracy to effect it. — **oportere**: this verb is always impersonal; its subject here is the clause **injuriā defendi**. The verb **defendere** signifies not *to defend*, but *to strike down*, hence *to ward off*, or *avert*. — **ipsi**, agreeing with the subject of **audent**; not (as we might expect) with that of **defendere**, which is a *complementary infinitive* (§ 57, 8, c). Supply *but* in translating. — **iniquitatem temporum**, i. e. the disturbed state of politics, while the wounds of the civil war were still fresh. — **ita fit**: the subject is the clause **ut adsint**, etc. (§ 70, 4, a). — **propterea** = **propter** (compar. of **prope**) **ea**, *near* (hence *caused by*, or *on account of*) *these things*: distinguish carefully from **præterea**, which is **præter** (compar. of **præ**) **ea**, *along by* (*beyond* and so *besides*) *these things*. — **officium**, *duty*, arising from their relation to the murdered man, who had stood in relation of **hospitium** with some of the highest families. — **adsint**: the friends of the parties to a suit (called *advocati*) attended court to give them the weight of their influence (compare Cæs. B. G. i. 4). Hence the word *suit*, which originally meant *following* of witnesses and friends.

§ 2. **ergo**, **at**: for the force of these conjunctions, see Gr. § 43, 3, *b* and *e*. — **officiosior**, *with a stronger sense of duty*. — **ne . . . quidem**, *not . . . either*, enclosing, as usual, the emphatic word (§ 41, 3, *e*). — **istius**, i. e., *which is in your thoughts* (§ 20, 2, *c*). — **sim**, *conjunctivus modestiæ* (§ 60, 2, *b*). — **aliis**, dat. (§ 51, 2, *e*). — **præreptam**: **præ** gives here the force of *getting the start of others* in snatching it (compare *prevent*, from *præ-venio*). — **me**: emphatic from its position between **quæ** and **igitur** (§ 76, 2). — **Rosci**: gen. (§ 10, 4, *b*). — **reciperem**, *undertake* a case offered; **suscipere** is to take it up of one's own motion. (For the mood, see § 64, 1; tense, § 58, 10, *a*). — **amplitudo**, *position*, from birth, wealth, office, or the like. — **de re publica**, *on politics*. — **id quod**, *a thing which* (§ 48, 3, *e*). — **dixisset**: as a part of the case supposed in **si fecisset**, this must also be in the plup. subj. (see next note). — **putaretur**, apodosis of **fecisset** (§ 59, 3, *b*), while the whole from **si verbum**, etc., is the apodosis of **si quis dixisset**. Translate, *if any one had spoken. in case he had alluded to politics, he would*, etc.

§ 3. *si dixero . . . poterit*: for the form of condition, see § 59, 4, *e.* — *similiter*, in like manner, i.e. as if a man of rank had spoken. — *exire*, etc., i.e. this speech would not be quoted and talked over, nor on the other hand distorted and misinterpreted. — *emānare*, leak out (cf. *mānēre*). — *volgus* = *vulgus* (§ 1, 2, *b*). — *deinde quod*: the second reason, corresponding to *quia* above. — *ceterorum*, opposed to *ego*, below.

The learner is greatly assisted (as, indeed, the Romans themselves must have been) in the understanding of a sentence like this, by noticing the way in which one word is set off against another. Thus, besides the case just mentioned, *dictum obscurum esse* is opposed to *temere dicto concedi*; so *propter nobilitatem* is opposed to *propter atalem*, and *occultum*, etc., to *ignosci*, etc. At the same time, *occultum* is parallel with *obscurum*, and *ignosci* with *concedi*. These antitheses are indicated in various ways, — (*a*) by emphatic and similar or chiasmic position, as here *ceterorum* precedes *neque* and *ego* precedes *siquid*, though the connective is usually placed first; (*b*) by particles, as the correlative *neque . . . neque*, and *vel . . . vel*.

*dictum* is a noun limited by *ceterorum* (in the case of the others); *dicto* is also a noun, though modified by an adverb (see examples under § 72, 2, *a*). — *concedi* (impersonal, § 51, 2, *f*), allowed, or put up with. — *nondum . . . accessi*, I have not yet gone into public life, i.e. become candidate for any office. Cicero began his political career five years later, with the quaestorship. — *tametsi*, although, in its so-called "corrective" use, — the concession coming after the general statement, as a kind of limitation of it. — *ignosci* has a subject supplied from *si quid* (§ 51, 2, *c*). — *ignoscendi ratio*, the idea of pardon. As Latin has few abstract nouns, their place is supplied in various other ways. The thought is, not only pardoning, but even official investigation (*cognoscendi*) has ceased in the state (in consequence of the stormy times of Sulla). But this thought can hardly be expressed in any other way than by the general word *ratio* with a genitive, which we may translate as above.

"This is boldly said, at a time when the tyrant Sulla was in power. Sulla never pardoned, and inquiry in legal form was out of fashion; at least such a trial as an innocent man could rely on. The legislation of Sulla had excluded the *Equites* from the office of *judices*; and the senators, who were his tools, were the class from which *judices* were now taken" (Long). It should be observed, however, that during the period in which the *equites* were in possession of the courts, they showed themselves — in spite of Cicero's assertion (see *Verr.* i. 13) — quite as corrupt as the Senators. The fact is, each class was under a temptation to pass unjust judgments, since the provincial governors belonged to the Senatorial order, and the farmers of revenue to the Equestrian.

3. § 4. *accedit*, is added: used as a kind of passive of *addo*. — *quod*, that (§ 70, 5). — *a ceteris*, from the others, i.e. the nobles. (For the use of the prep., see § 52, 2, *c*, Rem.) — *petitum sit*, subj. by § 60, 2, *a*: it is, strictly, subj. of ind. question after *forsitan* (= *fors sit an*, it is a chance whether). — *ut dicerent* (sc. *causam*), that they should plead: a subst. clause (§ 70, 3, *a*), subject of *petitum sit*. — *dicere causam* is the technical expression for the

counsel (*to argue or defend a case*), as well as for the defendant (*to be brought to trial*). — *ut . . . arbitrarentur*, a clause of result, correlative with *ita* (§ 65, 1). — *utrumvis*, lit. *either* [of the two] ; *you please*: here, simply, *either at their option*. — *salvo officio* (abl. abs.), *without breach of duty*. — *arbitrarentur*; imperf. following *petitum sit* (§ 58, 10, a). — *a me* (opposed to a *ceteris*) *contenderunt*, *have compelled it from me*: preserve the antithesis by inserting, *but as to myself*, which is implied in the position of a *me*. — *ei* (simply correlative to *qui*, § 20, 2, d), *men*: not a demonstrative, like *hic*, etc. The noble friends of Roscius are here meant, who would desire his cause to be well conducted. — *plurimum possunt*, *have the greatest weight*. — *debeam*, subj. of *characteristic* (§ 65, 2). — *ego*: expressed to continue the emphasis of a *me*. — *his*: emphatic, referring to the reasons just mentioned; *ego*, as opposed to the others present. — *causæ*, dat. (§ 51, 7, a). — *patronus*, *advocate* (the word *advocati* meaning friends, as above). The term *patronus*, *protector*, — properly the correlative of *cliens*, *a dependant*, — was transferred to the *counsellor*, as the defender of his client; all the more easily, as the practice of the law was in the hands of the nobles, who were obliged to defend their friends and dependants gratis. It should be noticed, that *cliens* is never used in the modern sense of *client* in law, correlative to counsellor: the Roman *cliens* was necessarily a poor man, or one in humble station, or a foreigner. — *electus*, *relictus*: this antithesis (in sound as well as sense) suggests at once that *ingenio* is in the same construction as *periculo*, and that *possem dicere* must be supplied. — *unus*, *as the one*. — *uti*: older form for *ut*. — *uti ne*: in purpose clauses (§ 64, 1), the double form is often used instead of *ne* alone.

§ 5. *municeps* (*munus-capio*), lit. *sharing public duties*, and so, citizen of a *municipium* or free Italian town with Roman citizenship.

A native Italian town which had lost its original independence, and was absorbed in the Roman state, ceased to be a *civitas*, and became a *municipium*; its citizens now possessed Roman citizenship as well as that of their own town. This Roman citizenship was possessed in various degrees. Some towns lost all rights of self-government, without receiving any political rights at Rome in their place; that is, their political existence was extinguished, and their citizens became mere passive citizens of Rome, with civil rights, but no political ones: this worst condition of municipal liberties was called *jus Caritum*, because the Etruscan town of Cære was taken as the type. The most favored class retained all powers of self-government, with magistrates of their own election, at the same time being full citizens of Rome. All furnished their contingent to the Roman army, and were under the civil jurisdiction of the Roman prætor; but they paid no taxes except for their own local concerns.

*Amerinus*, of *Ameria* (§ 50, 1, a). — *vicinitatis*: i. e. probably the whole territory of Ameria, extending to the Tiber. — *hospitium*, *guest-friendship*. This was a relation between individuals of different cities or states, at a time when there were no international rela-

tions: it included the duties of hospitality and protection, was transmitted from father to son, and was vouched for by a ticket (*tessera*). — *domesticus... consuetudo, intercourse and companionship in their homes.* — *honestatis gratia* (so *honoris causa*, § 17), *with all honor*: it seems to have been held a liberty to mention the name of any person of quality; and it is generally done in some such form of compliment. — *hoc solum*, i. e. the *hospitium*. — *domestici, of his own house.* — *ereptum possident, have plundered and now hold* (§ 72, 3, a): *possidere* does not signify *to own*, in the modern sense, but only *to hold or occupy*. — *innocentis*, i. e. *filii*.

§ 6. *nobilitatis fautor*, i. e. of Sulla's party. — *hoc tumultu, this last disturbance* (euphemistic): i. e. the final scenes of the civil war of Marius and Sulla, which Cicero will not call *bellum*. — *in discrimen veniret, was at stake*: subj. of characteristic (*at a time when*, etc.). — *opera*, etc., *labor, zeal, influence.* — *se pugnare*, simply *to fight* (§ 70, 2, d): object of *putabat*, while *rectum* is in pred. apposition (§ 46, 2). — *honestate, honestissimus*, refer respectively to the rank and dignity of these great families, and the credit which his connection with them gave him in his own neighborhood. — *victoria*, i. e. of Sulla's party. — *constituta est, praescriberentur*: the first is of *absolute*, the second of *relative* time (§ 62, 2), describing the period by its *characteristics* (§ 65, 2). — *proscriberentur*: the number of the proscribed in Sulla's time was 4,700. — *frequens*: adj. for adv. (§ 47, 6).

<sup>1</sup>Whoever killed one of these outlaws was not only exempt from punishment, like an executioner duly fulfilling his office, but also obtained for the execution a compensation of 12,000 *denarii* (nearly \$2,400); any one on the contrary who befriended an outlaw, even his nearest relative, was liable to the severest punishment. The property of the proscribed was forfeited to the state like the spoil of an enemy; their children and grandchildren were excluded from a political career, and yet, so far as of senatorial rank, were bound to undertake their share of senatorial burdens" (Mommson). At first only the names of those who had justly forfeited their lives were proscribed: afterwards it became easy for friends and favorites of the dictator (as Chrysogonus, attacked in the oration for Roscius) to put upon the list the names of innocent men, and even of men already dead, so as to work confiscation of their property. These proscriptions nominally ceased June 1, A. C. 81.

4. § 7. *erant*, see § 76, 1, b. — *inimicitiae*: plural of the abstract, signifying *causes or occasions of enmity* (§ 14, 1, a). — *accusatorum*: prosecutions might be brought by private persons (as by Cicero against Verres): these Roscii took their places as prosecutors along with Erucius (*coadjutores, subscriptores*). — *isti* (§ 20, 2, c). — *Capitoni* (§ 51, 3, b). — *palmarum, prizes*: sarcastically said of his acts of violence, as of so many victories in gladiatorial fights. — *nobilis, famous* (as of artists, actors, etc.). — *hic*, the one here present (Magnus); *eum*, referring to the one just mentioned, the absent one (Capito). — *lanistam*, a professional *trainer* or "*coach*": used sarcastically, like *palmarum*, above. — *quod sciam, so far as I know*, sc. *id* (adv. acc. § 52, 3, b): i. e. he must have been a mere

apprentice (*tiro*) at the trade ; this is the first of his actual murders that I know of.

§ 8. *hic*, *this man* (with a gesture), i. e. here at my side ; *iste*, *that one*, i. e. there on the accusers' bench. — *cum . . . esset*, parenthetical. — *iste*, T. Roscius: the repetition of the words *frequens*, etc., brings out the point that he was likeliest to be the murderer. — *Palacinas*: the reading is uncertain, and the place unknown. — *suspitio*: this word is not formed immediately from the verb-stem of *suspicio*, but the true derivative ending is *-tio*, and the long vowel seems to indicate contraction (§ 44, I. c, 2). — *res ipsa*, *the fact itself*. — *hunc*, i. e. my client. — *judicatote* (§ 57, 7, c): the second or longer form of the imperative is regular where the action is not to be performed immediately, especially when a future appears in protasis (§ 59, 4).

§ 9. *Ameriam nuntiat*, *brings the news to Am.*: the acc. of *end of motion* (55, 3, b). — *quidam*, *one*. — *horam primam*: the night from sunset to sunrise was divided into 12 hours ; these would be longer in the late autumn or winter, when the murder is thought to have been committed. — *nocturnis*, i. e. when the travelling would be more difficult and slow. — *cisiis*: the plural form shows that there were *relays of carriages*.

§ 10. *quadriduo*, i. e. *in the same space of four days*: we should say *within four days*. — *in castra*: the idea of motion, vividly conceived, suggests the acc. of place as well as person ; we should say, *TO Sulla IN his camp AT V.* — *Volaterras*: a very ancient and important town of Etruria, on a high and very steep hill, about 30 miles S. W. of Florence. "Here some of the Etruscans and of these proscribed by Sulla made a stand and were blockaded for two years, and there surrendered on terms" (Strabo). — *defertur*: this word implies an *intentional* conveying of the information, in the manner of a formal report, or charge.

§ 5. *fundos*, *estates*, i. e. lands or buildings, whether in town or country. — *tris = tres* (§ 16, 2, b): the acc. termination in *is* remained in this and a few other words for a considerable time after the form in *es* became more common. — *Tiberim* (§ 11, i. 3, a, 1): the river must add greatly to the value of these estates, whether for transportation or irrigation. — *splendidus*, *eminent*: the regular complimentary epithet of *equites*, and persons of similar rank ; *gratiosus*, *in favor*: referring to his relations with great families. — *negotio*, *difficulty*. — *de medio tolli*, *put out of the way*. — *ne teneam*, *not to detain you*: a purpose clause after some verb of *saying*, etc., which is, as usual, omitted (§ 64, 1, b). — *societas*, *partnership*. — *coitur*: *coire*, as governing the accusative (52, 1, e), here takes the passive.

§ 11. *cum*, etc.: the proscriptions ceased June 1, B. C. 81 ; the

itself. — **poterant**: indic. as being Cicero's reason, not theirs. — **tempore**: partly the character of the time in general; partly the fact that the courts were now first reopened, after their reorganization by Sulla. — **loqui**: the thought of the conspirators put in ind. disc., the verb being implied in **consilium ceperunt**. — **tam diu**, during the long troubles. — **eum**, any one. — **qui primus**: this was the first case that came before the *Quæstio inter Sicarios*. — **adductus esset**: for fut. perf. of direct disc. — **huic**: opposed to the indefinite **qui primus**. — **gratiam**, favor or influence, i. e. with Sulla. — **fore ut**: the more usual form for the fut. infin. pass., which is rare (§ 28, 2, h). — **tolleretur**, got out of the way: a derivative meaning (*prægnans*) from the original sense of *lift*. — **nullo**: for the abl. of **nemo**, which is never used. — **atque adeo**, or rather. — **quem**: the antecedent is **eum**, below. — **jugulandum** (§ 73, 5, c), i. e. for judicial murder.

§ 19. **unde**, where: i. e. the point whence the argument proceeds. — **potissimum** (superl. of **potius**, as if *ratherest*), soonest, or rather than anywhere else. — **summam**: i. e. of rendering a verdict. — **fidem**: i. e. the protection required by good faith. — **pater**, etc.: these nominatives are in no grammatical construction, but are simply a list of crimes (see § 72, 3, a). — **infesta**, assailed. — **nefaris**, abl. of instr. after **cumulant**: but translate, upon these they heap up other infamies. — **hujusce** (emphatic instead of **ejus**, the regular pronoun of reference, § 20, 2, d), his own. — **condicionem**, terms (or dilemma): as containing the idea of a bargain, it is followed by **ut** (§ 70, 3, d). — **cervices**: this word is used by early writers only in the plural. — **insutus in culeum**: the old punishment of parricide was to be "beaten with blood-red rods, then sewed into a sack, with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the deep sea" (see below, § 29). — **patronos**: Cicero's modesty will not allow him to call himself a *patronus* (cf. note on § 4). — **qui dicat**, purpose-clause (§ 64, 1): the antecedent is the subj. of **deest**, below.

§ 20. **quantum**, so far as (adverbial acc.). — **crimen**, the criminal charge: with the other wrongs of the accused the advocate has nothing to do. — **confictionem**, the getting up. — **quid igitur est?** how then? The whole task implied in **oportere** is too large to be attempted in a single plea. He has only to argue the case on the charge: the jury must see that reckless audacity and coercion shall have no effect with them. — **primo quoque tempore**, the very first opportunity since the violence and disorder of the civil war.

§ 21. **quo uno maleficio**, that in this one crime. — **vultu**, by a look, showing lack of filial affection (*pietas*).

§ 2. **si ... cogebant**, would compel it if the case should require (see § 59, 4, f): a future protasis, relative to the time of **cogebant**,

which is past. — **auditum sit**, fut. cond. completed (§ 59, 4, c). — **tu** (emphatic), *you*, a professional prosecutor. — **censes**: the word used to express deliberate judgment, after discussion, etc. — **mores**, *character*, as resulting from habits of life; **naturam**, *natural disposition*. — **tu**, emphatic, as opposed to accusers generally. — **ne . . . causa**, i. e. not even as a plausible charge.

§ 22. **qui homo?** *what sort of man?* — **adulescentulus**, *some young fellow*: the diminutive emphasizes the contrast in age. — **nequam**, agreeing with **hominibus**. — **major**, anomalous for the more usual **plus** or **amplius** (§ 54, 5, c). — **videlicet**, *no doubt* (ironical), Eng. *viz.* — **de luxuria**, abl. of charge (§ 50, 4, b, R.). **object**: the accuser made it a point in his charge, that the accused was of a gloomy and morose temper, shunning all society. — **officio**, *discharge of duty*.

§ 23. **justam**, *sufficient or well-grounded*. — **illud**, *this*, in appos. with the clause immediately following, i. e. the point previously treated; **hoc**, the new point now introduced. — **eodem**, *to the same point* as that treated in the preceding section.

10. **qui odisset**, *in that he hated* (according to their argument). — **constantissimus**, *most consistent*. — **illud** refers to **causam fuisse**. — **jam**, *by this time*.

§ 24. **jam prope cotidiana**, i. e. *which have come to be*, etc. — **convenisse . . . videntur**, *seem to have converged upon one spot and to agree together*: the phrase **inter se** may express any sort of reciprocal relation. — **ingenio**, *power*.

§ 25. **expressa vestigia**, *distinct footprints*. — **ratione**, *contrivance*.

§ 26. **Tarracinensem**, of *Tarracina* (Anxur), a colony on the Latian coast, 40 miles from Rome. — **non obscurum**, *respectable*.

11. **servus**: here used as an adjective (cf. § 47, 3, c). — **id ætatis**, i. e. too old for the sound sleep of childhood. — **propter**, *near by*. — **autem**, *on the other hand*. — **potissimum**, *of all others*.

§ 27. **non modo . . . possunt**, *not only cannot*, etc. (§ 41, 2, e): the verb is sufficiently negated by **ne**.

§ 28. **singulare**, *special*. — **rerum natura**, *the universe*, represented by air (**cælum**), fire (**solem**), water, and earth, the elements "from which all things are said to be produced."

§ 29. **obicere**, *cast forth to*. — **ne bestis . . . uteremur**, *lest we should find the very beasts more savage* (**immanioribus**, in pred. appos.). — **sic nudos**, *naked as they were*. — **ipsum**, *even that*. — **violata**, *defiled*. — **expiari**: sea-water, as well as running water, was regarded as having a purifying quality, — a notion prevailing in various religions, and found in the forms of ablution, baptism, and the like. — **tam . . . volgare**, *so cheap or so common*. — **etenim**: i. e. it needs no argument to show, etc.



**12. ejectis, to waive. — ita, in such a way.**

§ 30. **crimen, accusation. — talibus viris, "to this intelligent jury."** — **causam, motive. — emptores, i. e. men having the strongest interest in his conviction, with Chrysogonus himself as their presiding officer. — judicio, the trial. — venisses, you should have come (§ 57, 3, d'). — utrum . . . an, i. e. which is it — the nature of the question or the character of the court [another compliment to the jury] that you do not see? — admittere, commit.**

§ 31. **esto, well then (to quit that point). — causam proferre, to allege a motive. — vicisse debeo, I ought to be already victorious, i. e. by my past argument: ought to have conquered is vincere debui (§ 58, 11, a). — in alia causa, in another case, an implied condition to concederem. — qua re, why; quo modo, how. — ita, sic, i. e. I will deal with you on these terms. — meo loco, in my place, i. e. in the time allotted to the defence: this was determined for each party by the prætor.**

§ 32. **ipsum, sc. percussisse. — per alios, for abl. of means, when living persons are intended (§ 54, 4, b). — indidemne Am., from Ameria itself? — hosce sicarios, these cut-throats of ours. — convenit, i. e. to bargain for the murder. — unde, i. e. where did he get the money?**

**13. caput, fountain-head. — tibi, dat. for poss. (§ 51, 7, a). — veniat, with facito (fac) for simple imperat. (§ 70, 3, f, R.).** The fut. form of the imperat. is used, because it is a point for the accuser to reflect upon (§ 57, 7, c). — **ferum atque agrestem, rude and clownish (not simply countrified). — in oppido constitisse, to have stayed in any town: oppidum is distinguished both from urbs, the great city, and vicus, a country village, or mere hamlet: it would be a place of some society and cultivation.**

§ 33. **poterat, might, i. e. if I chose to use it (§ 60, 2, c). — victu arido, dry or meagre way of life. — inculta, uncouth. — possis, potential subj. (§ 60, 2, a). — erumpat, burst forth: a strong word on account of audacia, reckless daring. — autem, on the other hand. — agrestem, boorish. — parsimonie, thrift (in a good sense).**

§ 34. **missa facio, I let that pass: such phrases are often used colloquially or with emphasis, for the simple verb (§ 72, 3, c). — per quos: these words are the interrogative expression with which the translation of the clause should begin; is homo is put first for emphasis. — suspitiose, i. e. so as to look suspicious. — suspitio, culpam: i. e. in so clear a case I will not ask proof of guilt; any suspicious circumstance will be enough. — credo, I suppose: ironical, as usual when thus used parenthetically. — causa dicitur, lit. the case is argued by the defendant: i. e. a charge is brought.**

§ 35. **quod [innocenti] relates to id, having in appos. the clause ut . . . polliceatur. — quæstionem, question in the technical**

sense, i. e. examination by torture, the regular legal way of examining slaves. In a few special classes of cases, the slaves of the accused could be tortured in order to get evidence against their master (see Milo, ch. 22). The master might, however, of his own accord, offer them for torture (*polliceri*): in this case Roscius had lost his slaves, and so was deprived of this privilege. — *unus puer*, modified by *non*. the position makes the negative very emphatic. — *minister*, i. e. to wait upon him.

§ 14. *familia*: this word, in its primary meaning, properly embraced the entire body of free persons, clients and slaves, under the patriarchal rule of the *paterfamilias*. In time, the meaning was divided, applying either (1) to a group of kinsfolk having a common name, — as Metellus, Scipio, Cicero, Cæsar; (2) to a body (or gang) of slaves. The latter is the meaning here. — *Scipio, Metelle*, these were, probably, P. Scipio Nasica, father of Metellus Scipio (a leader on Pompey's side in the civil war), and his cousin, Q. Metellus Nepos, brother of Cæcilia (§ 50), and father of the Celer and Nepos referred to in the orations against Catiline. — *advocatis*, *summoned* (as friends of the accused); *agentibus*, *taking active part*. The demand seems to have been formal, and these friends were present to attest it. — *aliquotiens*, *several times*. — *meministisne*, *don't you remember?* — *T. Roscium*, i. e. Magnus. — *sectantur*, *wait on*.

§ 36. *aureum*: the Greek name Chrysogonus means *gold-born*. — *latuit*: because his was the only name that appeared. — *alii quoque*, i. e. other purchasers of confiscated estates. — *sectorum*: these were the purchasers of confiscated property in the lump, who afterwards *divided* it (*seco*) to sell again in detail. The word also means both *cut-throat* and *cut-purse*, and was perhaps used here to imply, by the double meaning, that these men connived at the death of the proscribed.

§ 37. *venierunt*, *were sold* (§ 35, 2, b). — *tantus homo*, *such a great person*: a hint that more important men than he had suffered. In fact, all the really eminent victims of the civil war had perished before the proscription. — *Valeria*: the law by which Sulla was made perpetual dictator and invested with absolute power of life and death (B. C. 82): it was proposed by L. Valerius Flaccus as *interrex*. Laws were designated by the *gentile* name of their proposer: all laws, for example, carried by L. Cornelius Sulla were known as *Leges Corneliae*. — *Cornelia*: this appears to have been enacted some time after the *lex Valeria*, in order to regulate the details of the proscription. Cicero's ignorance of the law is no doubt affected. — *novi*, I know the thing or person; *scio*, I know the fact: *I am not acquainted with the law, and do not know which it is*.

**15. proscripti sunt**: the indic. must mean those already proscribed when the law was passed. Future cases would be referred to by the subj. or fut. perf. (see Verr. ii. ch. 41, 42).—**adversariorum præsidiis**, *within the enemies' lines*, i. e. in arms.—**bona**, *the property*.—**veteres**, those of the regular code: **novas**, those of the Sullan revolution.

§ 38. **in eum**, i. e. Sulla. Here it is necessary for the orator to proceed with great caution: even if not himself present, Sulla would watch jealously the first case before his own criminal court.—**ab initio**, *from the beginning* of this trial; **omni tempore**, in his whole career.—**ut . . . passus non sit**, clauses in appos. with **hæc omnia**: for the change of tense, see § 58, 5, *d.*—**apud adversarios**, *in the enemies' ranks*—in **præsidiis**, above.—**postea**: the passage referred to appears to have been lost out of the oration, probably in the gap in ch. 45. The scholiast represents Chrysogonus as saying that he had used the property in building a villa at Veii.

§ 39. **Kal. Junias**, acc. in the same constr. as **diem**.—**aliquot post mensis**, see introd.—**tabulas**, the records of confiscated property, which belonged to the State.—**nulla**, *not at all* (§ 47, 6).—**redierunt**=**relata sunt**.—**nebulone**, *knave*.—**facetius**, *more neatly*: in the case supposed, the proscription would be a mere trick, and the property would be taken without even the forms of law.—**corruptæ**, *tampered with*.—**ante tempus**, *prematurely*.—**reduviam curem**, *treat a sore finger* (a proverbial expression): i. e. in a case of life and death, I deal only with some trifling ailment.—**non rationem ducit**, *he does not take account* (a mercantile phrase).

§ 40. **partim pro me**, *partly in my own name*. To avoid entangling the case of his client with politics, Cicero makes himself responsible for all that might have a political bearing: he was a known partisan of the nobility, and could afford to speak freely.

**16. ad omnis pertinere**, *concerns all*.—**sensu ac dolore**, *feeling and pain*, i. e. painful feeling. The adjective idea is enforced by dwelling on it in the form of another noun (*hendiadys*).—**jam**, with the fut., *presently*.

§ 41. **ego**, opp. to *Roscio*.—**diem**, fem. (§ 13, 2, *N.*).—**præfinita**, *fixed in advance*, as the limit (*finio*).—**tantulo**, *so little*.—**patronum**, i. e. Sulla. (See note on *libertus*, § 12.)—**conferre**, *throw the responsibility*.—**imprudens**, *without the knowledge of*.—**egerit**, *will effect*; fut. perf. for fut. (§ 58, 7, *R.*).

§ 42. **placet**, *do I like?* i. e. *do I think it right?*—**imprudens**, *want of foresight*.—**etenim si**, etc. The comparison is strained, and rather offensive to good taste; but it is curious as showing the ancient notions as to the origin of evil, and at the same time Sulla's relation to the State as "lord protector." (Compare

the oration for Marcellus.) — *pernicii* for *perniciet* (§ 13, 3). — *vi ipsa rerum*, by the very violence of the elements. — *possit*, *adepta sit*, informal ind. disc., as the thought of the person surprised. — *si ... sit*, clause with *mirum* (§ 70, 5, R.).

17. § 43. *tametsi*, and yet. — *meo jure*, with perfect right (as belonging to that party): *jure* alone would mean *justly*; *meo* limits it to the speaker's own case. The passage that follows is interesting, as showing the way in which Cicero regarded the general issues of the civil war, and the excesses of the victorious party. — *pro mea*, etc., to the extent of my poor and feeble ability. — *ut componeretur*, that reconciliation should be made: a clause of result in appos. with *id* (§ 70, 4). — *qui vicerunt*, who did (in fact) conquer: the subj. here would imply, whatever party might conquer. — *humilitatem*, not merely low rank, but meanness and vulgarity; *dignitate*, personal worth, from birth and services; *amplitudine*, rank or position. With all his arrogance, blood-thirstiness, and narrow conservatism, Sulla was, after all, the representative of orderly government against anarchy and mob-law. — *retineretur*, would be preserved (fut. cond. § 59, 4, f), the prot. being *quibus incolumibus*. — *quæ*, i. e. the reinstating of the nobility. — *gradum*, rank.

§ 44. *quod ... in eos*, that those have been punished (a mild expression for proscription). — *non debeo*, I have no right. — *in eo studio partium*, in favor of that party: *studium* is the regular word for partisan favor. — *id actum est*, this was the object: the clause *ut ... facerent* is in appos. with *id*. — *postremi*, the lowest in class or character. — *non modo*: understand *non* with *prohibere*.

§ 45. *male*: to speak ill is to utter abuse or calumny. — *causam communicare*, make common cause.

18. *equestrem*, referring to the struggle for the *judicia* (§ 11), and the extensive sympathy of the *equites* with the party of Marius. Compare note to Verr. § 1. — *servi*: Chrysogonus was a freedman of Sulla. — *dominationem*, mastery or tyranny. — *versabatur*, displayed itself. — *quam viam munitet*, whither it is paving a way: road-building, both literally and figuratively among the Romans, was spoken of by the engineering term *munire*. — *ad fidem*: i. e. after getting possession of the political power, these low-born fellows were aiming at the courts, the one security of public faith and good government. — *jusjurandum*: the jurors were under oath to give a righteous judgment. — *hicine*, § 20, 1, N. — *neque ... possit*: this is exactly what good men said in New York ten years ago. — *verear*: subj. because it is not a real reason, but one introduced only to be contradicted (§ 66, 1, d, R.).

§ 46. *expectata*, so long waited for. — *servoli*, dim. of con-

tempt. — *bona, estates; fortunas* (more generally), *wealth*. — *id actum est, this was the object*. — *senserim, sided with them*: this verb, with its noun *sententia*, often refers to political opinions. — *inermis*: i. e. had he taken up arms, his regret would have been deeper. — *cuique, to every man* in proportion as he is, etc. (§ 17, 5, c). — *probe novit*: note the strong sarcasm. — *rationem, relations*: so that what touches one touches the other. — *læditur, etc., is injured* being separated, etc. Mommsen puts *cum* before *læditur*, in which case it means, "by owning himself injured he cuts himself off," etc.

§ 47. *mea*, emphatic: he will avoid prejudice to his client, by assuming the responsibility of these words. — *iatorum, those men's*. — *morum, the customs of business*. — *more, in the regular way*. — *jure gentium*: the "law common to all nations" (Maine), as opposed to *jus civile*, or law of the state. It is thus used as nearly equivalent to *natural right*.

19. *a nobis, i. e. once clear of guilt, and acquitted of a shocking crime, he will leave you unmolested*. — *rogat*: a feigned appeal to his persecutors. — *in suam rem*: in a former passage, allusion is made to a charge that Roscius had fraudulently kept back part of his father's property. — *concessit, etc., has given up* [the immovable property], *counted and weighed* [the rest]; by particularizing and dwelling upon different kinds of property, a stronger impression is produced. — *anulum, probably the gold ring* indicating his rank as an *eques*. — *neque . . . exceptit, and has reserved nothing else besides his naked self*.

§ 48. *quod, quia, § 63, 1. — hominem, i. e. the owner*. — *præter ceteros*: i. e. even if other purchasers had to refund, he the favorite had no cause to fear. — *patria, of their fathers*. — *ne quando*: i. e. some time when there comes a political reaction.

§ 49. *facis injuriam, i. e. you act unreasonably*. — *majorem spem*: Cicero artfully suggests that Chrysogonus has no confidence that Sulla's constitution will last; hence he wishes to remove a dangerous claimant in case of another overturn. — *monumenti, memorial, or keepsake*.

20. *cruenta* (pred.): the thought is strengthened by the use of words only appropriate to an actual killing and stripping of the dead.

§ 50. *rem tuam, your interests*. — *quasi nescias, as if you did not know* (§ 61, 1). — *spectatissima, most estimable*: the friends of Roscius are purposely exalted, in order to influence the Court.\*

\* Cæcilia is called in § 17 daughter of Nepos; but the statement here is probably correct. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balaricus was one of the four sons of Metellus Macedonicus — two of consular rank, the third consul, and the fourth candidate for the consulship — who accompanied the bier of their distinguished father (B. C. 115). The description of father, uncles, and brother applies, therefore, perfectly in this case; but Nepos, son of Balaricus and (as we assume) the *ornatissimum fratrem* referred to, had no brothers that

— *cum haberet, though she had.* — *cum esset, while she was, etc.*  
 — *femina, mulier*: observe the distinction between the words, the latter being always used when speaking of the tenderness of the feminine nature. — *quanto*: the usual correlative is supplied by *non minora, full as great.*

§ 51. *quod, the fact that.* — *pro hospitio, in accordance with his father's friendly relations and personal influence* (see above, § 1). — *pro eo quod, in view of the fact that.* — *sin ... vindicarent, i. e. if all were disposed to right this wrong*: hinting that the accusers would be in danger of violence. — *summa res publica, i. e. the existence of the state itself.* — *hæc, these outrages.* — *nunc, opposed to the preceding suppositions.* — *sane, certainly.*

§ 52. *quæ domi*: i. e. the protection of Roscius, supply of money, providing of witnesses, etc. — *fori ... rationem, the business of forum and court, i. e. the preliminaries of the trial.* — *ut videtis, i. e. Messala\* is here in court.* — *sectorum, see note to § 36.* — *assiduitate, constant presence, probably at the preliminary proceedings.* — *hac nobilitate, i. e. such nobles as he.* — *hæc res, the present state of things was brought about.* — *et nobiles, i. e. the nobles expelled by Marius and Cinna.*

21. § 53. *propria, his own; communis, common to all.* — *pristina, as of the olden time.* — *versata est, has prevailed.* — *id quod, etc., which surely can never be.* — *actum est, all is over.*

§ 54. *condemnaretis*: for the tense, see § 58, 10, a; so *potuissent, have not been able.* — *nimirum, doubtless.* — *consilium publicum*: the administration of justice, along with all other affairs of the state originally vested in the kings, was transferred to the people in their sovereign capacity, and exercised in the *comitia*. Hence the bodies to which it was afterwards delegated were *consilia*, — a term which includes (as here) the *body of jurors.*

§ 55. *an vero, or can it be true that, etc.* In this use of *an*, the first question is omitted (§ 71, 2, b), and the second is often a *reductio ad absurdum*, as here. The full thought is, *Do you not agree with me, or can it really (vero) be, etc.* — *agi, is at stake*: *aliquid agere* is to aim at something. — *ut ... tollantur, be got rid of, in one way or another.* — *periculo, often used of defendants.*

22. *sectorem ... accusatorem, i. e. T. Roscius Magnus, at once purchaser, enemy, cut-throat, and accuser.* — *probatum suis, vouched for by his friends.*

are known. and on the other hand had *two* sons, — neither of whom, however, was old enough at this time to deserve this epithet. Both were active in the time of Catiline's conspiracy. Celer was consul B. C. 60, the younger Nepos in 57. Cæcilia, daughter of Balaricus, married App. Claudius, and was mother of Cicero's bitter enemy Clodius.

\* This is supposed to have been the one who was consul B. C. 53 (not the consul of 61). In this case he was father of the distinguished orator and soldier of the reign of Augustus. As appears from this passage, he was too young to undertake the case himself.

§ 56. *suscipere noluit*: the law by which the proscriptions were instituted was passed by the people, without the intervention of the Senate. — *more majorum*, i. e. that every capital judgment was subject to an appeal to the people in the *comitia centuriata*.

§ 57. *quibus*: the antecedent is *eis*. — *hominibus*, dat. (§ 51, 2, e). — *pati nolite*, *do not suffer*. — *consuetudine incommodorum*, *by familiarity with horrors*.

## IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES.

### *Argument.*

CHAP. I. The jurors are congratulated on the opportunity of restoring the good name of the senatorial courts: character of the defendant. — 2, 3. Attempts of Verres to avoid the trial: he places all his hope in bribery. — 4, 5. His crimes in administration, of pillage, extortion, and cruelty, open and flagrant. — 6. His attempt to contract in advance for acquittal. — 7, 8. His hopes in the election of Hortensius as consul and Metellus as prætor. — 9, 10. Cicero's anxiety. The great effort to have the case tried before Metellus, which was to be effected by delaying the trial till after the holidays. — 11, 12. Cicero proposes to display his case at once, without argument, and so prevent its being laid over: he will meet the domineering Hortensius on that issue. — 13-15. The senatorial compared with the equestrian courts; their corruption and ill repute. Loss of confidence in Roman justice; ruin and misery of the provinces. — 16. The court itself on trial: acquittal can have but one meaning. — 17. Appeal to Glabrio to prevent bribery. — 18. The Sicilians must not be baffled. Way in which Cicero proposes to conduct the prosecution: he will introduce witnesses at once, without previous argument. List of the charges, including the plunder of 4,000,000 sesterces from the Sicilians.

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25. § 1. *erat optandum* (§ 60, 2, c, not necessarily implying a protasis contrary to fact), *what was chiefly to be wished*. — *quod . . . pertinebat*, *the one thing which most tended* (or, *was of chief importance*). — *invidiam infamiamque, odium and dishonor*, from the partisan use of the courts by the Senators (see Rosc. Am. § 3). These points are here emphasized, as being of quite equal importance with the conviction or acquittal of Verres. In fact, the trial turns more on the character of the court than on the guilt of the accused, which was notorious. — *vestri ordinis*, i. e. the senatorial, from which the *judices* were at this time taken. (See note on *judices*, R. A. § 1.) The word *Ordo* was used loosely to describe any recognized body of citizens — as freedmen, publicans, clerks; it was more especially used of the two powerful classes of the Roman Aristocracy, the Senatorial and the Equestrian, which struggled with each other for power during the last century of the Republic.

## THE ROMAN ARISTOCRACY.

**SENATORIAL ORDER.**—Strictly speaking the *Ordo Senatorius* was only another name for the Senate, the members of which, by virtue of their life tenure of office, and their *esprit de corps*, formed a united body or "order" in the state. The list of senators, amounting in general to about 300, was formerly made up by the Censors from among those who had held high magistracies: after the time of Sulla every person who held the quaestorship—the first grade of the regular magistracy (see note § 11)—was entitled to a seat in the Senate. The number therefore fluctuated, running up to five or six hundred. The elections were so largely under the control of the Senate and the magistrates, that it was very hard for any person not belonging to the nobility (see note on § 15) to be chosen to any office: when any such person, *novus homo*, entered the Senate, — such as Cato the Censor, Marius and Cicero, — he belonged of course to the Senatorial order, although he was not a noble. Such cases, however, were so rare, that it may be laid down as a general truth, that the Senatorial order and the Nobility were identical, and "new men" became necessarily identified with the class to which their posterity would belong, rather than that from which they came. This double relation of Cicero—a member of the Senate, but sprung from the Equestrian order—goes a great way to explain what is inconsistent and vacillating in his political career.

**EQUESTRIAN ORDER.**—The title *Equites* was properly applied to the members of the eighteen centuries *equitum equo publico*; to whom a horse was assigned by the state, together with a certain sum of money yearly for its support. Those who served *equo publico* must have a fortune of 400,000 sesterces (\$16,000), and the horses were assigned by the censors, as a rule, to the young men of senatorial families. The *centuria equitum* were therefore composed of young noblemen, [see "Celsi Ramnes," *Hor. A. P. v. 342*]. When they entered the Senate, they were (in the later years of the republic) obliged to give up the public horse; on becoming senators therefore they voted in the centuries of the first class, not with the Equites (see note on Assemblies, § 18). This aristocratic body had, however, long before this period, ceased to serve in the field; they formed a parade corps (somewhat like the Royal Guards in England), from which active officers of the legion, *tribuni*, were taken. When the Roman *equites* ceased to serve as cavalry, troops of horse were demanded of the allies; and in the time of Cæsar we find that the Roman legion consisted exclusively of infantry, the cavalry being made up of auxiliaries.

During the time that the *equites equo publico* still served in the field as cavalry, another body grew up by their side, of *equites equo privato*, that is, persons of the equestrian census, who had a property of 400,000 sesterces, who had not received a horse from the state, but who volunteered with horses of their own. This body consisted mainly of young men of wealth, who did not belong to noble (that is, senatorial) families. No very distinct line was, however, drawn between the two classes, until the *Lex Judiciaria* of Caius Gracchus (B. C. 123), which prescribed that the *judices* should no longer be taken from the senators, but from those who possessed equestrian census, and at the same time were not members of the Senate (see note on *judices*, R. A. § 1). This law did not formally exclude nobles who were not members of the Senate; but the entire body of nobility was so far identified in spirit and interest with this body, that an antagonism immediately grew up between them and this new judicial class. A principal cause of the antagonism was that members of the Senate were prohibited from being engaged in any trade or business; while, as has been shown above, the Senate, by its control over the elections, virtually filled its own vacancies, of course from the ranks of the nobility.

Since rich men of non-senatorial families were thus excluded from a political career, while Senators were excluded from a business life, there were formed during the last century of the republic two powerful aristocracies, — the nobles, or Senatorial order, a wealthy governing aristocracy of rank, and the Equestrian order, an aristocracy of wealth, the counterpart of the moneyed aristocracy of our day. The name *Ordo Equestris* was derived from the fact of its members possessing the equestrian census; that is, that amount of property which would have entitled them to a public horse. From the ranks of the nobility were taken the oppressive provincial governors; the equestrian order furnished the *publicani*, the equally oppressive tax-gatherers. It is easy to see, therefore, that neither the law of Gracchus, which placed the Court of *Repetunda* in the exclusive power of the Equestrian order, nor that of Sulla, which gave it to the Senators exclusively, was calculated to protect the provincials against extortion.



The equestrian order, *ordo equestris*, is therefore not merely distinct from the *centuria equitum*, but strongly contrasted with them. The one is the wealthy middle class, the other the young nobility. The term *equites* is sometimes applied to both, although the strictly correct term for the members of the equestrian order was *judices*.

**consilio, foresight.** — **datum, oblatum**, refer respectively to **optandum** and **pertinebat**. — **summo, most critical**: the year of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. — **inveteravit** (emphatic position), *there has come to be deeply rooted*. — **opinio, notion** (not so strong as *opinion*, which is *sententia*). — **neminem**, more emphatic than **nullum**, and often so used, especially by early writers.

§ 2. **contionibus et legibus, harangues and bills** (proposed laws). The proposition of the law which took the exclusive control of the courts from the Senators was even now pending, and it was promulgated before the case was decided.

**actor, complainant**, i. e. agent or attorney for conducting the suit in personal processes (*in personam*). — **ordinis, the body**, i. e. the Senate, from which the *judices* were at this time taken. The right of *judicium* was soon after restored to the *equites*. — **communi**, i. e. so far as it affected the whole state. — **reconciliare, etc., win back the lost repute**. — **depeculatorem, etc.**: for a more complete statement of these charges, see ch. iv. and v. — **juris urbani**, i. e. as *prætor urbanus*. — **labem, pest**.

§ 3. **vos**, opposed to **ego**, below. — **religiose, according to your oath**. — **judicaveritis, fut. perf.** (§ 59, 4, c). — **religionem veritatemque**; here, *feeling of obligation and regard for the truth*. — **judicium, etc.**, i. e. the fault will be with the court, not with the prosecutors. — **equidem**, i. e. for my own part. — **quas partim, some of which** (*partim* is properly adv. acc. § 41, 1, h). — **devitarem**, subj. as part of concession (§ 66, 2).

26. **neque . . . neque**, following **numquam**, do not destroy the negative, but are more emphatic than **aut . . . aut**.

§ 4. **istius**, constantly used of an opponent. — **Glabrioni**, the prætor presiding. — **ordini . . . senatorio**, i. e. *the senatorial order, nay, the very name of senator*. — **dictitat, constantly repeats** (§ 36, b). — **esse metuendum** (for *erat met.* in dir. disc., § 58, 11, b), i. e. *those would have to fear* if the case were theirs, *but he*, etc. — **quod**, i. e. *only what*. — **pecunia** belongs to both clauses, as is indicated by their parallelism.

§ 5. **esset, imp.** in prot. of a *continued* condition lasting till now. — **fefellisset, he would have foiled us**. — **cadit**: pres. of time lasting till now (§ 58, 2, a). — **corrumpendi judicii, of bribing the court**. — **tempus . . . offenderet, he hit an unfavorable time**; because popular sentiment was so roused and exasperated in regard to the corruption of the courts.

§ 6. **invenit qui, he found some one who**: for the circumstances,

see introd. The fictitious case was not brought against Verres. — **Brundisium**, *Brindisi*, the port whence the greater part of Italian travel, now as then, embarks for the East. — **obii**, *went throughout*. — **populorum**, *communities*. The political system of the ancients was composed of an indefinite number of petty communities, all possessing a certain degree of independence. (See the beginning of note on *municipes*, R. A. § 5). — **qui ... obsideret**, *to block my opportunity*.

§ 7. **nunc** : i. e. now that his former scheme has failed.

**27. socios**, *allies* : citizens of communities which, although embraced within the boundaries of Roman provinces (see note § 11), had nevertheless, for special reasons, been allowed to retain a nominal independence, with their own laws and magistrates, — **cives**, *citizens*, travelling or doing business in the provinces, or provincials who had received the citizenship.

**auctoritates**, *documents*, i. e. credentials, or (more probably) official testimony relating to the acts of Verres.

§ 8. **bonis** : here, as generally in Cicero, used in a partisan sense, *the aristocracy*. — **judicia**, *courts*. — **experiatur**, in apparent violation of the sequence of tenses : the imperf. would make it refer to the time of getting the money. — **tempus** : the present scheme of the defence is by corrupt means to stave off the judgment to a more advantageous time (see ch. 6-8). — **posset**, imperf. referring to the time of the purchase. — **criminum vim**, *the force of the charges*. — **poterat**, indic., the reason being Cicero's. (The whole passage is an instructive example of the freedom of a living language from its own trammels. Rules are made for the language, not language for the rules.)

§ 9. **non modo**, *not merely*. — **eloquentia**, **gratia** : even sophisticated arguments and personal influence were respectable means of escape, to a criminal who had no case (**causa**). — **profecto**, *I am sure*. — **aucuparetur**, *fish for* (lit. *set nets for birds*). — **ut ... fieret**, *as to have some chosen to be put on trial* (see § 6) : the Senate itself was insulted, by selecting one of its members to be set up as a man of straw, that Verres might get clear. — **hic**, i. e. Verres. — **causam diceret**, *stand trial*.

§ 10. **quibus rebus**, *from this* (abl. of means with **perspicio**). — **consilio**, "panel," i. e. the body of jurors. — **in reiectione judicavit**, *decided at the challenging* ("throwing out") *of the jury* : i. e. on seeing the kind of men challenged by the two sides respectively. The regular number to be challenged was three ; but Verres, as senator, was permitted to challenge more. — **ea spe** : words of this class, used with a demonstrative, allow a clause of result instead of the more regular indir. disc. (compare § 65, 2), as in **ut ... constitueret** and **ut ... arbitraretur**, which follow.

28. § 11. *adulescentiæ*, i. e. before he entered public life. — *quæstura*, *quæstorship*, the first grade of political honor.

The quæstors were at this time twenty in number, two having charge of the treasury and archives in the city, while the others were assigned to the several military commanders and provincial governors, to serve as quartermasters and paymasters. Aspirants for honors were required to serve as quæstors before presenting themselves for the prætorship, which was, again, a requirement for the consulship. The office of curule ædile was regularly held — as by Cicero — between the quæstorship and prætorship. That this was not necessary, however, as is often assumed, is proved by the fact that there were six prætors, but only two curule ædiles. (See Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht*, vol. i. p. 443.)

**Carbonem**: Carbo was the leader of the Marian faction after the death of Marius and Cinna. He was consul B. C. 82, the year of Sulla's return and victory. Verres was his quæstor, and went over to the enemy with the money-chest, when he saw which side was likely to prevail. — **necessitudinem religionemque**: the quæstor was originally nominated specially by the consul; and the peculiarly close and sacred relation (*necessitudo*) existing between them was known as *pietas*, — a sentiment of filial affection. (See Lange, *Röm. Alt.* vol. i. p. 633.) The designation by lot (*sors*) was also held to be a token of divine will, and so sacred (*religio*). — **legatio**: the *legatus*, or *aid*, was a member of the general's staff, and stood in something of the same relation to him as the quæstor. Verres, as *legatus*, served Dolabella much as he had served Carbo: not that either of those infamous commanders deserved better treatment. — **Asiæ**: the province of this name, the old kingdom of Pergamus, embraced the western part of Asia Minor. The province of Dolabella (B. C. 80–79) was Cilicia. His extortions and those of Verres were in the adjoining regions of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and parts of Asia. The word *totius* is therefore a rhetorical exaggeration.

The term *provincia* was primarily used to designate the special field of operations assigned (by lot, agreement, or designation of the Senate) to a consul or other military commander. When a foreign territory was conquered and reduced to a subjection to Rome, the government of it was assigned to one of the prætors, or the *imperium* of a consul or prætor was extended (*prorogatum*) for a second year for this purpose. The foreign state thus organized as a Roman dependency was called by the old name *provincia*; and this special use of the word is more familiar in classic writers than its original meaning. Of the states here mentioned, Asia was an organized province, while Cilicia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia were provinces only in the early sense of the word: Cilicia, however, was the regular *provincia*, or special command, of a pro-prætor, whose field of operations was western Cilicia (Cilicia Aspera), with the adjoining coast-line of Pamphylia, and mountain region of Pisidia — Cilicia was not formally organized as a province until B. C. 75. As governor of a province in the later sense of the word, the pro-prætor exercised direct rule only over those portions of the country which had been subjugated by Rome, while the geographical limits of his province enclosed also allied and independent communities, *civitates sociæ* and *liberæ* (see Kuhn, *Verfassung des Röm. Reich.* vol. ii. p. 14); some of which paid tribute, while others were tribute-free, *immunes*, as well as legally exempt from his authority in matters of administration. Practically, however, even these last were under his almost unlimited control.

**pro quæstore**, *acting quæstor*: when there was a vacancy in a

provincial quæstorship, the commander might appoint any person to perform its functions. (Mommsen, R. S. vol. i. p. 187).—**adduxit**: Dolabella was bad enough, but he had to bear the added infamy of Verres' outrageous acts, and after all Verres saved himself by turning against him (*oppugnavit*), appearing as witness in his trial for extortion.

§ 12. **prætura urbana**: this is the topic of the first oration of the *accusatio*.

There were at this time eight prætors, whose office it was to preside over the administration of justice; after the expiration of their year of office, they went as *pro-prætores* to govern provinces. Verres held the first and most important of the prætorships, that of *prætor urbanus*, who had the charge of civil cases between Roman citizens; the *prætor peregrinus* had civil cases in which aliens were a party; the other six presided over the *Quæstiones perpetuæ*. The *prætor urbanus*, having charge of all civil cases between citizens, had almost unlimited power of plunder, and this was used by Verres without scruple. His colleague, the *prætor peregrinus*, filled several books with cases in which he interceded, in order to oblige Verres to administer justice in accordance with his own rules. The functions of the prætor were summed up in these words (*judicem, vindicias*), *DICO (jus), ADDICO (rem, etc.)*.

**ædium**, etc. The public buildings were under the charge of the ædile, not of the prætor: the cases referred to here were, therefore, not connected with any special official power of Verres, but certain flagrant instances of corruption and extortion arising out of contracts for public buildings in which the prætor had it in his power to interfere for his own advantage.—**in jure dicundo**; **jus dicere** (*jurisdictio*), *declaring the law*, was the primary function of the prætor; *bonorum addictio* is the adjudging of property to the claimant; *condonatio (grant)* is the giving it up to the defendant: in the case of Verres both are presumed to be unlawful.—**instituta, precedents**. The edicts of the prætors made up a body of common law, not absolutely binding, however, for their successors.—**posse**, *virtually a fut. infin.*

§ 13. **senatus consulta**, *decrees (or executive orders) of the Senate*.

The Senate had originally only advisory powers. It had therefore, strictly speaking, no authority to make laws or to enforce their execution; and its votes were simply *consulta*, i. e. matters agreed upon, as advisable, while its power was *auctoritas*. When the Senate came (in the 3d cent. B. C.) to be the actual governing power in the State, these *consulta* became *ordinances*, in which the Senate directed the administration of the whole empire. The organization of a new province, e. g., was not by a law of the people, but by an ordinance of the Senate; and in this ordinance was embodied the entire authority of Rome over the province, except so far as this was prescribed by general laws. This *suas leges* describes the native institutions of the several communities, so far as they were allowed to retain them: *communis jura*, the principles of justice recognized by all nations: *senatus consulta*, the regulations, laid down by the Senate, under which the province was organized and governed.

**communis jura**, the same as *jus gentium*, those laws common to all mankind (see note on *jus gentium*, R. A. § 47). The terms *leges, consulta, jura*, include the three sources of provincial law.

—*tenuerunt*, *retained*. — *subterfugit*, *escaped his notice*. — *tantum*, [only] *so much*.

*ab eo*, *away from him*, i. e. the possessor. — *aratorum*, *tenants of public lands*.

The territory of conquered communities in the provinces was partly given or sold to individuals or allied states, as private property (*ager privatus*), paying a tax (*vectigal*) of a tenth of the products (*decumus*); partly retained as public domain (*ager publicus*), which was let by the censors, generally for a long term of years, sometimes as heritable. These tenants were called *aratores*. In Sicily the original proprietors received back their old estates on these terms, paying tithes, *decuma*, just as the proprietors of *ager privatus* did, from whom therefore they differed only in right of property, not in amount of tax or mode of payment. (Marquardt, *Röm. Ant.* iii. 2 p. 141.) The collection of the tenth, as well as of other indirect revenues, was farmed out by auction to *publicani*, of the equestrian order; these paid a round sum into the treasury, for the chance of squeezing a larger amount in detail out of the provincials. From these *aratores* Verres had required a supply of corn, as he was entitled to do, and then commuted the demand for cash, valuing the corn at five or six times its market value. (Cæcil. x.)

*socii*; these were the provincial states which retained independent self-government, either by treaty or by special enactment: to this class belonged Messana and Tauromenium. — *cruciati et necati*: a Roman citizen could not legally receive any punishment touching life or limb, except by judgment of his peers in Rome. Thus, Jesus was crucified by the Roman governor under the ordinary provincial law applying to Jews: while Paul, a Roman citizen of the free city Tarsus, appealed to Cæsar, and was sent to Rome for trial. (See extract from Verr. vi. pp. 51–56). — *judicio*, *by mock trial*.

29. *rei facti*, *accused*, (*rei* from *reus*). The details of these charges are given in the five orations of the *Accusatio*; it would require too much space to repeat them here. — *indicta*, *unpleaded*. — *ejecti*, *expelled from the country*. — *optimæ*, *best in themselves*; *opportunitissimæ*, *most valuable in the circumstances*. — *populi Romani*, *obj. gen.*

§ 14. *regum*, the famous kings of Syracuse, — Hiero, Agathocles, etc. — *imperatorum*: Marcellus, who conquered Syracuse, and Scipio Africanus the elder, who had Sicily as his province, and crossed over from there for the conquest of Carthage. — *Deum*, i. e. statue of a god. — *commemorare*, *complem. infin. for subj.* with *ne* or *quominus* (§ 57, 8, *d*).

§ 15. *at enim* (a supposed objection), *but, you may say*. — *cognoscere*, *learn*; *recognoscere*, *review*.

In Chap. vi. the orator returns to the charge of bribery. He has shown at close of Chap. iii. that Verres had been disappointed in the character of the jury: the two following chapters show that no favor could be expected from an honest jury in so patent a case. He now reviews the several schemes of bribery, leading at last to the final plot of staving off the trial till the next year.

*eloquentiam*, etc., see note on § 9; *gratia* and *auctoritate*

refer to his counsel, Hortensius; **potentia**, to the noble family of the Metelli. — **inania nomina**, *empty names*.

**30. nobiles**, *noble by birth*; **noti**, *well known or notorious*.

The Roman nobility has been shown (see note § 1) to have been in the main identical with the Senatorial order. It was in point of fact an hereditary rank, although based directly upon the holding of office. Whoever held any curule office—that is, Dictator, Consul, Prætor, Magister Equitum, or Curule Ædile—secured to his posterity the *jus imaginum*; that is, the right to place in the hall and carry at funeral processions a wax mask of this ancestor, as well as of any other deceased members of the family of curule rank. All patricians were, as a matter of course, nobles: the nobility which governed Rome during the last three centuries of the republic was, therefore, composed of the entire patriciate, and those plebeian families, members of which had held curule office. Among patrician families were those of Cæsar, Sulla, Scipio, Lepidus: the most eminent of the plebeian nobility were Metellus, Catulus, Lucullus, Crassus, Gracchus.

§ 16. **ut, how**. — **redemptio**, a contract with another party for buying up the court. — **in condicione**, *by the terms*: until the jury was made up, the bargain could not be absolutely concluded; and when the character of the jury was known, the contractor renounced (*renuntiavit*) the bargain. — **rejectio**: after Cicero's careful challenging, the lot had fortunately given a trustworthy jury. — **istius limits spem**. — **istorum**, the partisans of Verres.

§ 17. **præclare**, *well* for the cause of justice. — **libelli**, *lists*. — **color**: in a former case, in which Hortensius had been counsel, in order to make sure that the bribed jurors voted as they had agreed, colored ballots were given to them. — **sententiis**: this is the word regularly used for a formal and official expression of opinion in the Senate (*vote*) or a court of justice (*verdict*). — **cum, where-upon**. — **ex alacri**, *from being*, etc. — **his diebus paucis**, *a few days ago*: the consular and other elections were held this year towards the end of July. — **famæ and fortunis**, dat. after **insidiæ comparantur**. — **per eosdem homines**, the same professional bribers; the *redemptor*, etc., referred to in § 16. — **aperto**, etc., *when the door to suspicion had once been opened*.

§ 18. **reducebatur**: the successful candidate was escorted home by his friends after the election. — **Campo**: higher magistrates were elected in the *comitia centuriata*, which were in form a military organization of the people. As the military command, *imperium*, could not lawfully be exercised in the city (except for the purpose of celebrating a triumph), these *comitia* met in the *Campus Martius*, or military exercise-ground, north of the city.

There were at this time two principal Assemblies, both of them having as their basis the thirty-five local tribes into which the whole people were divided for administrative purposes. 1. The *Comitia Centuriata*, or great comitia, which was established at the foundation of the republic upon the basis of the military organization of Servius Tullius. At a later period it was reorganized upon the basis of the tribes; and, although there is no precise statement as to either the time or the manner of this reorganization, there is little doubt as to either. It must have been between the First and Second Punic Wars, and in the manner here described. The old division of the people into five classes, according to wealth, was retained:

for each tribe there were now formed two centuries of each class, — one of *seniores*, one of *juniores*, — making in all 350 centuries. To these were added 18 centuries of *equites* (the young men of senatorial families, see note § 1), guilds of smiths, carpenters, horn-blowers and trumpeters, and a century of freedmen and *capite censi* (those who had no property); 373 in all. Each centur. had one vote, determined by the majority of its voters. These *comitia* were regularly presided over by the consul; they elected all the higher magistrates, and had full power of making law, as well as judicial power in capital cases, so far as this had not been transferred to the *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*. Legislation had, however, practically passed into the hands of the *Comitia Tributa*. 2. These were simply the assembly of the thirty-five tribes, each tribe having one vote. They were sometimes presided over by the prætor; but of far more importance was the tribal assembly of the plebeians exclusively, presided over by the Tribune of the People. Strictly speaking, this was not *comitia*, inasmuch as it was not composed of the whole people, *populus*, — the patricians being excluded from it. But the patricians were now reduced to a few noble families, whose members would not have cared to take part in this democratic assembly even if they had been permitted; and by the Hortensian Law, B. C. 287, acts of this assembly, *plebiscita*, received the validity of laws. (See Mommsen, *Röm. Forschungen*, i p. 208.)

**Curio**: C. Scribonius Curio was one of the leaders of the aristocratic party, always a good friend of Cicero. — *honoris causa*, see note R. A. § 5. — *ratio, consideration*.

**31. § 19. F. Fabianum, the Fabian Arch**, erected B. C. 109 by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, — one of the earliest triumphal arches in Rome. — *immo vero, no, rather*. — *renuntio*, the word regularly used to announce the result of an election. — *defertor* means a formal announcement by some one person; *narrabat*, telling of a piece of news. — *criminum ratione, the logical relation of the charges*. — *positam, resting on*.

§ 20. *rationcinabantur, reasoned*: the imperf. describing a state of mind, and in different persons. — *aperte, manifestly*. — *quod, the fact that*. — *publicæ, official*, from cities (as *auctoritates*, above), — *existimationem, opinion*, i. e. as weighed by their established tests in court. — *unius, i. e. Hortensius*. — *moderatione, control*. — *quidem* (concessive), *it is true*: this criminal may be rescued, but such a thing will not be allowed to happen again; the judicial power will be given to other hands. — *nos, we Senators*.

§ 21 *hominis amplissimi, i. e. Curio*. The congratulations of so respected a man showed the significance of the fact. — *cupiebam dissimulare, etc., I was anxious to conceal the fact, etc.*

**32. sortirentur, allotted**. The particular offices (posts) of coördinate magistrates were assigned by lot, for which the regular word is *obtingere*. — **Metello**: a brother of Q. Metellus Creticus, consul elect, and of L. Metellus, prætor in Sicily.\* — *factam, offered*. — *pueros, slaves*.

§ 22 *sane, you may be sure*. — *ne hæc quidem, not this either*. — *neque intellegebam*: i. e. his confidence in the integrity of

\* There were three principal branches of the powerful family of Metelli: 1. that of Metellus Pius, the colleague of Sulla; 2. that of Nepos (second cousin of Pius), whose sister, Cæcilia, was the friend of Roscius; 3. that of Creticus, the friend of Verres (of uncertain relation to the others).

Metellus was so great, that he did not even yet see through the tricks of the defence. — *certis*, *trusty*. — *reperiebam*: the imperf. denotes a succession of items of information. — *fiscos*, *wicker baskets*, used for carrying money. The word came to mean *treasure-chest*, or private treasury; and, when the empire was established, it was applied to the emperor's privy-purse. Hence the word *fiscal*. — *Siciliense*, i. e. that extorted in Sicily. — *senatore*, etc. The senator, a man of the same class as Verres, put the money to be used in the elections and trial into the hands of an *eques*, one of the class that had the management of all such financial operations. He retained, however, say (*quasi*) ten baskets, to be used directly to defeat Cicero's election to the *ædileship*. — *nomine*, *on account of*. — *divisores*, *managers*. The money to be used at elections was put into the hands of *sequestres* (election agents), who themselves made use of *divisores* to approach the voters personally. On this occasion, the exigency was so great that Verres himself (*istum*) called the *divisores* to his house, without the mediation of *sequestres*.

§ 23. *omnia debere*, *was bound to do any thing for me*. — *proximis*, *the last*. — *negasse audere*, *said they did not dare*. — *fortem*, *stanch* (ironical), in allusion to *audere*. — *Romilia*, sc. *tribu*. — *ex optima disciplina*, *from the best school* (ironical), i. e. that of Verres' father. — *H S.* (see § 85, 1-3): the defeat of Cicero would, therefore, cost about \$25,000, which the purchasing power of money made full twice as valuable then as now.

§ 24. A lively description of the embarrassment in which Cicero was placed at the end of July by the election and the trial, both coming on together. — *agere deterrebar*, *I was deterred from doing* (§ 57, 8, d'). — *petitioni*, *canvass*. — *ratio*, *my policy*.

§ 25. *hoc ipso tempore*, in the midst of all. — *denuntiatio esse*, *that a message was sent*. This compound implies a peremptory and threatening message. — *primum* corresponds to *arcessit*, etc., § 27. — *sane liberos*, *quite free*, i. e. in refusing to come. If he had been consul, instead of merely consul-elect, they would have had to come. — *cursare*, *run hither and thither*. — *appellare et convenire*, *accost and greet*.

§ 26. *M. Metellum* (see § 21), the friend of Verres, who had obtained the presidency of the court of *Repetundæ* for the next year. — *eo*, *this thing*, i. e. postponing the trial. — *prærogativam*, *indication*. In the *comitia centuriata*, it was determined by lot which century should first cast its vote. The vote of this century, called *prærogativa* (*præ-rogo*), was regarded as an omen, and was likely to decide the result. The *prærogativa* which Q. Metellus gave to Verres, in return for the *prærogativæ* of the *comitia*, is described in the next section.



§ 27. **alter consul**: Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus (see § 21).

The three brothers, fast friends of Verres, were so situated as to promise the greatest help the next year, when Quintus would be consul, and Marcus prætor, presiding over the court of *Repetundæ*, while Lucius was already pro-prætor in Sicily. Certain of the Sicilians, therefore, complied with the summons of Metellus, although they had disregarded that of Hortensius. The object of Metellus was to induce the Scilians to withdraw the suit, or at any rate to refrain from appearing as witnesses.

**34.** § 28. **alienissimum, no kin of yours.** — **dictitat, says incessantly** (see next section). — **alicui follows videatur.**

§ 29. **ceteros, etc.**: the Metelli seemed born to hold office. The poet Nævius wrote, a hundred and fifty years before:

Fato Metelli Rómæ fiunt cónsules.

To this Cicero alludes in the word **fato**. — **populi existimationi, reputation with the people.** — **illud, what follows.** He here points out the changes in the jury which must follow from changes in the government with the new year. — **conlega, colleague** of Cicero: i. e. as ædile *designatus*. — **expediat, subj. of charact.** (§ 65, 2). — **Juniano consilio, the jury of Junius.** This was a case four years before, in which wholesale and unblushing bribery had been proved; so that the presiding prætor, Junius, as well as the entire *consilium* (body of jurors) had been stamped with infamy. Cæsonius, a member of the jury, had been proof against corruption. — **ex Kal. Jan., after the New Year;** for at that time he would be transferred to another office.

§ 30. **Non. Dec. (Dec. 5)**: on this day the new quæstors entered on their office. — **L. Cassius**: the family characteristic here stated was proverbial (*Cassiani judices*). — **tribuni militares, at this time legion-commanders.**

The legion, consisting of 6,000 men, was commanded by six *tribuni*, two at a time commanding for a term of two months. (Mommson, R. S. i p. 79.) The 24 tribunes of the four regular legions were elected in the *comitia tributa*; the others were deputed by the commanders. After the time of Cæsar, a *legatus* was appointed over the six tribunes, as chief officer of the legion.

**non judicabunt, will not serve as jurors.** — **subsortiemur, i. e. we shall draw another to fill his place.** This is the regular use of **sub** in similar compounds: as *suffectus, subrogatus*, etc. — **prope toto**: the jury, therefore, apparently consisted of no more than twelve or fifteen.

**35.** § 31. **Nonæ, etc.**: it was, therefore, about 3 P.M. of the 5th of August (see § 84). — **votivos, in fulfilment of a vow.** These games were in celebration of Pompey's victory over Sertorius. — **continuo, directly after.** — **tum denique, not till then.**

The votive games would occupy from Aug. 16 to Sept. 1 (August had at this time only 29 days); Sept. 4 began the *Ludi Romani*, continuing till the 19th. The intervening days (Sept. 2, 3) were of no account for the trial, so that it could not be resumed before Sept. 20, a suspension of 34 days (*prope quadraginta*). The *Ludi Victoriae* (Oct. 27 to Nov. 1)

were established by Sulla in honor of his victory. The *Ludi Plebei* (Nov. 4 to 17) were established in the time of the dissensions of the orders early in the Republic, in imitation of the *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*, and were presided over by the plebeian ædiles.

**perpauci**: the month of December was full of festivals. — **rem integram**, i. e. from the beginning. The points of the prosecution would have been forgotten, the public interest would have cooled down, and the jury would be almost wholly new. The case must therefore be taken up *de novo*.

§ 32. **nunc**, opposed to **si diffusus essem**, above. — **jurato, on oath**. The *judices* were on oath; the *prætor*, not. Metellus might therefore be trusted to vote honestly as juror, but not to pre-  
side impartially. — **legitimo tempore**: he had a right to use twenty days for developing the points of the prosecution.

§ 33. **perpetua oratione**, a continuous argument, before bringing up the witnesses. This is what we possess in the five speeches of the *Accusatio*, which, in the usual order of proceeding, would have been delivered before bringing up the witnesses, but which were never delivered at all. — **percipi**, reaped: the regular term for gathering crops. — **potuit**, might have been. — **publicis**, official, i. e. of cities. — **tabulis**, records; **auctoritatibus**, documents. — **res omnis**. Here, before stating his plan, Cicero goes off on another digression against Hortensius, which shows clearly one of his principal motives in undertaking the prosecution. — **diluendi, refuting** (washing off).

**36. explicandis, unfolding**. — **nunc, as it is**. — **ex tua natura**: Hortensius, like M. Metellus, was personally an amiable and honorable man, though pledged to a bad cause. — **malitiose, in bad faith**. — **rationi, scheme**, looking to the means; **consilio, plan**, looking to the end. Cicero contrasts them more than once.

§ 34. **binos ludos**, i. e. Pompey's games and the Roman. — **comperendinem, adjourn over a day (perendie)**.

After opening the case (as in the present speech), the usual course was for the prosecutor to present his proofs and arguments in a connected speech, or series of speeches (*perpetua oratio*), to which the counsel for the defence could answer, and then the witnesses would be brought forward. The case was now really complete; but it was required at this point *comperendinare*, i. e. adjourn over the second day, in order to make sure that the chain of evidence was complete. For this *actio secunda*, as it was properly called, a very short time only was necessary. The *comperendinatio* was therefore a sign that the trial was near its close. Cicero's determination to bring this about before Pompey's games — i. e. within ten days — settled the case in his favor; for, as has been shown, the only hope of the defence lay in putting off the trial.

**necessarium, unavoidable**: **id** refers to *eos velle*, etc. — **amplum et præclarum, honor and distinction**. — **periculum, trial** (from the same root found in *experior*). — **innocentiæ, purity of administration** in Sicily: an almost technical word for using with moderation the immense power in the hands of a Roman official in the provinces.

§ 35. *potentia, domineering*.—*regnum iudiciorum, lording it over the courts*.—*nunc*, opposed to the time of *videbatur*.—*homines*, the corrupt Senatorial jurors.—*inuere*, etc., *bent on making themselves hateful and offensive*.—*hoc*, i. e. to break down Hortensius's control, and the corruption of a few senators.—*nervos ætatis, the sinews of my youth*. Cicero was now 36.

§ 36. *ordo*, the Senate.—*odiosum, filled with hate, unrelenting*.—*magistratu*, the ædileship of the coming year.—*loco*: the *Rostra*, the elevated place in the Forum adorned with beaks of ships, from which the magistrates addressed the people.

§ 37. *secum agere*, the technical expression for transacting business in the *comitia*. The *jus agendi cum populo* belonged to the curule ædiles only in the case here alluded to,—an appeal from a fine *de hominibus improbis*. (Mommsen, R. S. vol. i. p. 146. N. 4.).—*munus ædilitatis, service of the ædileship*.

The *munera* (services) are generally distinguished from the *honores* (honors). The *honores* were conferred by election, the *munera* imposed by a magistrate. Strictly speaking, however, as in this case, the term *munus* included both; the more so, as the ædileship was quite as much a burden as an honor. (Kuhn. Verf. des Röm. Reichs, vol. i. p. 8.)

The Ædiles formed a board (*collegium*) of four magistrates, who had the general superintendence of the police of the city, the care of the games, public buildings, etc. Two of these were lower in grade, and were necessarily plebeians; the other two, the curule ædiles, possessed also a limited jurisdiction, with power of imposing fines. The ædileship was not a necessary step in a political career, but it was eagerly sought, between the quaestorship and the prætorship, by ambitious men, for the reason that the superintendence of the public games gave great opportunity for gaining popular favor. A certain sum was appropriated from the public treasury for these games; but an ædile who wished to rise to higher positions, and not to be thought mean, took care to add a good sum from his own pocket.

*deponere, deposit* with the *sequestres* (see note § 22); by *interpretes* (go-betweens) is probably meant the *divisores*.—*polliceri, offer*.—*abstineant, withhold*.

§ 37. *imperio et potestate*: these words are not contrasted, as implying classes or fields of power; but the idea of *imperium* (sovereign power) was contained in that of *potestas* (power in general). All magistrates possessed *potestas*; only the consul and prætor (of the regular magistrates) the *imperium*.—*commemorabantur, talked over*; *aguntur, made ground of action*.—*certis rebus, well ascertained facts*.—*inter decem annos, i. e. since Sulla's Lex Judiciaria*.

§ 38. *quingenta*. i. e. from the law of Caius Gracchus, B.C. 123, to that of Sulla, B. C. 80.—*ne tenuissima quidem suspitio*: one of the exaggerations of the advocate.

The condition of the courts at the time spoken of (about B. C. 93) is thus described by Mommsen: "The commission regarding exactions [Court of *Repetundæ*] was converted from a shield of the provincials into their worst scourge: the most notorious robber escaped with impunity, if he only indulged his fellow-robbers and did not refuse to allow part of the sums exacted to reach the jury; but any attempt to respond to the equitable demands of the provincials for right and justice sufficed for condemnation." If the courts were really worse in B. C. 70 than they had been in 90, it was simply because the times were worse.

*sublata, taken away.* — *populi Romani*, etc., i. e. the power of the people to control the senatorial order. This refers to the suspension of the tribunician power by Sulla (see note § 44). — *Q. Calidius*, prætor, B. C. 79; condemned for extortion in Spain.

It seems, from an old note, that Calidius, being condemned *de repetundis*, with bitter irony assailed the bribed jurors on account of the smallness of the bribe, saying that it was not respectable (*honestum*) to condemn an ex-prætor for so small a sum. The allusion shows that the corruption was notorious and universal.

*H. S. triciens* (see § 85), 3,000,000 *sestertii*, = \$150,000. — *prætorium*: an ex-magistrate always preserved the dignity of the office he had held, — as *consularis*, *prætorius*, *ædilicius*. — *honeste*, in a gentlemanly manner. — *P. Septimio* (Scævola), condemned B. C. 72; the damages were placed higher than they would have been, because of his connection with the odious *consilium Junianum* (see § 29). The amount extorted was estimated in a separate process (*litis æstimatio*); and the money taken in bribery was included in the reckoning.

§ 39. *peculatus, embezzlement*, and *majestas* (sc. *minuta*), *treason* (any thing affecting the dignity or the power of the state), were the object of two of the *Quæstiones perpetuæ* of Sulla.

The fact came out on these trials. Evidence under Roman law was not confined to the immediate issue, but might bear on other crimes of the accused, as now in France. All the offenders here mentioned were apparently connected with the infamous *judicium Junianum*. (See *Or. pro Cluentio*, ch. 30, seq.)

§ 38. *sortiente, drawing the jury.* — *exirent*, etc., were drawn for [the case of] a defendant, to condemn him without a hearing.

§ 40. *jam vero, and finally* (introducing the climax of all). — *illam*, i. e. the one next described: *hoc factum esse*, etc. — *discoloribus signis*, see note on color, § 17. — *acturum esse, will attend to.* — *tandem, tell me.* — *violatum*, etc. (a kind of *hendiadys*), *that like violence has been done.* — *hominem*, i. e. Hortensius; *ujus*, obj. gen. — *secum . . . agi, he was doing very well.* — *quæstum, gains.* — *in rem suam, into his own pocket.* — *patronis*, see note, R. A. § 4.

§ 41. *relo. judicibus* (loc. abl.), *at the time of challenging.* — *tolleretur, should be abolished.* — *victoriæ*, i. e. in the courts. They can satiate the avarice of any man, but cannot give enough to clear him when guilty.

§ 39. § 42. *comparata sunt, were established.*

§ 43. *loco, point*, in the argument.

§ 44. *tribuniciam potestatem*: the overgrown power of the tribunes of the people had been greatly abridged by Sulla, but restored by a law of Pompey early in this year, B. C. 70.

The *Tribuni Plebis* (or *Plebi*), ten in number, were the magistrates of that portion of the people (a state within the state) known as the *Plebs*. The Plebeians at this epoch, however, composed the whole people, with the exception of the few families of the patrician aristocracy (such *gentes* as the Cornelian, Julian, Æmilian, Claudian). Not being

magistrates of the city or the whole people, but only of a single class, the Tribunes did not possess the *imperium*, had no real executive power, and were not magistrates in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand they had two very important and wide reaching powers: 1. Negative, that of interiering, *jus intercedendi* ("veto"), to arrest almost any legislative or executive act. 2. Positive, to hold the assembly of the *plebs*, organized by tribes. In this assembly the plebeian magistrates (tribunes and plebeian ædiles) were chosen, and laws were passed, *plebi scita*, which of course were originally binding only upon the *plebs*, but which, by the Hortensian Law, B. C. 287, received the force of *leges* (see note, p. 17). Fines were likewise imposed by this assembly, and this is the power alluded to in the passage. Sulla had restricted this power of imposing fines, by punishing its abuse. He had further made the legislative power of the plebeian assembly depend upon the initiation of the Senate. But these salutary provisions were abolished by Pompey, the people fancying that the corruptions of the courts could be remedied by restoring this mischievous power to the tribunes.

**verbo, in name; re vera, in fact; illam**, the tribunician power. — **Catulum**: Q. Lutatius Catulus was the best and most eminent man of the aristocracy. — **fugit, has escaped**. — **referente, bringing forward**, the technical expression for bringing a matter before the Senate for action.

The prefix *re*, implying the repetition of an act, describes the original process. In case of proposing a law, it was necessary, first, *ferre ad populum*, then, *referre ad Senatum*, for ratification, which ratification could only be refused on religious or constitutional grounds; but in order to guard against any unfair use of this power, it was established that the ratification should come before the action of the *comitia*. The order of proceedings was then, to lay the matter, *referre*, before the Senate, then bring it, *ferre*, before the people.—Momm. Röm. Forsch. i. p. 245.

**rogatus**: each Senator in turn was asked his opinion, *sententia*, by the consul, or other presiding officer. — **patres [et] conscriptos** (the conjunction is often omitted in such combinations): *patres* were the patrician members of the Senate; *conscripti*, the plebeians enrolled in that originally patrician body. — **fuisse desideraturos**, *would have missed* (§ 67, 1, c).

§ 45. **contionem habuit, made a speech**: *contio* means, strictly, an assembly, for the purpose of discussion merely. — **ad urbem**, i. e. in the Campus Martius. Pompey was elected in his absence, and while still clothed with the military *imperium*: he could not therefore enter the city to meet the citizens, but called them to him outside the walls. — **ubi, in which**. — **in eo, at that point**.

**40. strepitu, confused noise**. — **clamore, shout**. — **voluntatem**, i. e. *what they felt*.

§ 46. **in speculis, on the look-out**. — **religione, regard for oath**. — **tribunicium**, i. e. reinstating the tribunes. — **unum senatorem**: there does not seem to be any reproach in this, as if it were *only one*: rather, *one, it is true*; but, under the circumstances, that means nothing. — **vel tenuissimum, a man of no means**.

§ 47. **hoc est judicium**, i. e. this will be a test. — **nihil sit**, i. e. there is no disturbing influence.

Cicero was mistaken in the hope here expressed, that an honest verdict in this case might yet prevent a reorganization of the courts. The Aurelian law, passed shortly after

this time, provided that the *judices* should be taken, one-third from the Senators, the rest from the equestrian order; one-half of the equestrians (one-third of the whole) being required to have held the office of *Tribunus Aerarius*, that is. President of one of the 35 local Tribes. The title *aerarius* was due to the fact that the duties of these officers were largely financial. This regulation remained in force until the dictatorship of Cæsar, B. C. 45, when this third decuria, of *Tribuni Aerarii*, was abolished.

§ 48. *agam, conduct.* — *res, facts.* — *manifestas*, a technical word, denoting direct proof, not circumstantial evidence. — *a vobis contendere, urge upon you.* — *certam, definite.* — *rationem, plan.* — *consequi, get hold of.* — *eorum*, i. e. the defence.

§ 49. *vos*, opposed to former juries, which have occasioned the scandal. — *post hæc*, etc., since the reorganization of the courts by Sulla. — *utimur, have the benefit of.* — *splendore, personal distinction*, from wealth and exploits; *dignitate, dignity*, from rank and office. — *consilium, body of jurors* ("panel"). — *offensum, slip* (a mild word).

41. § 50. *opto, pray.* Observe the adroit union of compliment and threat in this passage, which at the same time forms the transition to the appeal to the prætor presiding.

§ 51. *is*, referring to the Senate. — *qui sis, what sort of a man you are.* — *reddere, pay back*: he owes life and position to his ancestors. — *legis Aciliæ*; this (probably B. C. 101) provided that there should be neither *ampliatio* (further hearing) nor *comperendinatio* (see note § 34) in cases of *repetundæ*. All earlier laws were superseded by the Cornelian law of Sulla.

§ 52. *summæ auctoritates, strongest influences*, especially family traditions, &c.\* — *nocenti reo, etc., for the criminal, his great wealth is of more account for a suspicion of guilt, than for any way of safety.*

§ 53. *mihi certum est, I am resolved.* — *non committere, to take no step*: *committere* governs the *ut* clause, in the sense of *bringing it to pass* by mistake or fault. — *nobis* (eth. dat.), *our*.

42. *novo exemplo, an unheard-of manner.* — *lictores*: each consul was attended by twelve lictors, who had the power of arresting and coercing. The consul elect, of course, had no such attendants, but could only send messages by his slaves. — *eorum*: this word connects the Metelli, &c., with Verres in the original conspiracy. — *jus suum, their [lost] rights.* — *potestatem* (contrasted with *imperium*): a hint that not only their liberties, but their lives, were in peril.

\* The elder G'abrio married Mucia, daughter of P. Mucius Scævola, "the founder of scientific jurisprudence in Rome," who was consul B. C. 133, the year of the legislation and death of Tiberius Gracchus, and showed himself not disinclined to a moderate reform, and at any rate opposed to the violent course of the aristocracy on that occasion. He was grandfather of the younger G'abrio. The father-in-law was M. Æmilius Scaurus, for many years *princeps senatus*, a man distinguished for dignity and moderation, but not characterized by any very great qualities, and not free from the corruption of the times.

§ 54. *oomitiorum*, etc. The trial came just between the election and the games of Pompey. At the same time censors, for the first time since Sulla's domination, were in office, and were making a registry of property and voters, to which citizens from all parts of Italy were obliged to report. — *censendi*, of *being registered*. — *vestrum*, *nostram*, and *omnium* are predicate after *esse*. — *quid agatur* depends on the verbal noun *scientiam*. — *omnium*, i. e. not the inhabitants of Rome alone.

§ 55. *principes*: these were the two distinguished brothers, L. and M. Lucullus. — *testibus*: the case was usually argued first. — *ita testis constituam*, etc.: this is the *criminum ratio* (§ 19). — *crimen totum*, the *impeachment as a whole*; *crimen* (below), the *special charge of extortion*, stated formally in the next section. — *dantur*, are offered (see note § 34). — *in singulas res*, to each point. — *illis*, the counsel for the defence. — *altera actione*, i. e. after the *comperendinatio*: in this sense the speeches of the *Accusatio* are correctly called *Actio Secunda*. — *hæc*, etc., *this is all the Accusatio there will be in the first Action*.

§ 56. *quadringentiens sestertium* (§ 85), 40,000,000 *sestertii*, = \$1,600,000.

43. *fuisse* (for *fuerat*, § 59, 3, *d*), *there would have been*. — *Dixi*, *I have done*: a formal ending, particularly appropriate to so unexpectedly brief a speech.

### THE PLUNDER OF SYRACUSE.

THE passage which follows is from the fourth oration of the *Accusatio*, the most famous of all, known as the *De Signis*, for the reason that it treats chiefly of the works of Art stolen by Verres. Cicero has been describing the plundering of many temples and public buildings; and in this passage he recounts in detail the case of one chief city, Syracuse, as a climax.

Syracuse was far the largest and richest of all the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily. It was a colony of Corinth, founded B. C. 734, and in course of time obtained the rule over the whole eastern part of Sicily. Syracuse remained independent, with a considerable territory, after the western part of the island (far the largest part) passed under the power of Rome in the First Punic War; but in the Second Punic War (B. C. 212) it was captured by Marcellus, and ever after was subject to Rome. It was at this time the capital of the province.

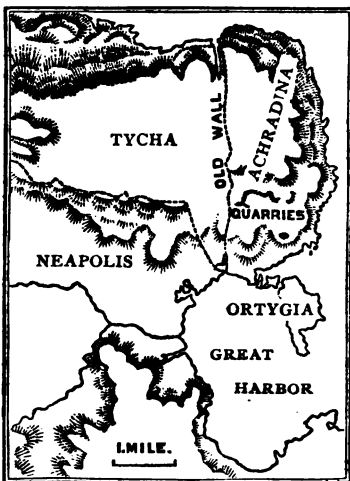
§ 1. *unum etiam*, still one more, connects the incident here related with the one described last. — *in medium proferam*, *publish*. — *aliquando*, at last (implying impatience). — *nemo fere*, hardly any one. — *annalibus*, *chronicles*: there were as yet no regular histories. — *hanc*, *illo*, indicate nearness and remoteness of time

(§ 20, 2, a, b). — **imperatoris** : this title, which properly belonged to every possessor of the military *imperium*, was by usage assumed by the commander after his first considerable victory. — **cohortem, train** of courtiers, &c. : the provincial magistrates, representing the Roman *imperium*, had many of the insignia of royalty. — **constitutæ, well ordered**.

This is a brilliant antithesis : nevertheless, the orator exaggerates, as on so many occasions. "Not only did Marcus stain his military honor by permitting a general pillage of the wealthy mercantile city, in the course of which Archimedes and many other citizens were put to death ; but the Roman Senate lent a deaf ear to the complaints which the Syracusans afterwards presented regarding the celebrated general, and neither returned to individuals their property nor restored to the city its freedom." (Mommson.)

§ 2. **locis**, i. e. in the other speeches of the *Accusatio*. — **forum** : every ancient town had its central market place (*forum*, or *ὑπόα*), an open space, used for trading, public assemblies, and the administration of justice. The same feature exists in European towns to the present day. — **clausus fuisset** : Marcellus had been obliged to starve out the city. — **Cilicum** : Cilicia was the chief seat of the organized bands of pirates who ruled the Mediterranean at this time (see oration for Manilian Law). — **illis rebus**, i. e. the plunder of temples, &c.

44. § 3. **maximam** : the circuit of its walls was 180 stadia = about 20 miles. — **ex omni aditu limits præclaro ad spectum, glorious to the sight**. (For descriptions of Syracuse, see Cic. de Rep. iii. 31 ; Livy, xxv. 24.) — **in ædificatione**, etc., i. e. enclosed by the buildings of the city. Ancient harbors (as at Athens) were often at a considerable distance. — **conjunguntur** : Ortygia (the site of the original town) had an independent harbor on each side, connected by a narrow channel. — **insula**, i. e. Ortygia. — **continetur, is made continuous**.



§ 4. **quattuor** : the heights of Epipolæ, west of the town, were sometimes reckoned as a fifth city. — Hiero II., King of Syracuse (B. C. 270 to about 216), was during most of his reign a steadfast ally of Rome. — **Dianæ** : the Quail, *ὄρυξ*, was sacred to Diana (Artemis) ; hence the name *Ortygia*. — **extrema, end of**. — **istius**, i. e. of Diana. — **Arethusa** : fabled to have fled beneath the sea from



the pursuit of the river-god Alpheus (see Classical Dictionary). Another fresh-water fountain rises in the harbor, about eighty feet from the shore. — **munitio**, *construction*: used of any embankment (compare *munire viam*, etc.).

§ 5. **Achradina**, the plain and table-land just north of Ortygia: the name is supposed to have been derived from the wild pear-trees, *ἀχράδες*, which still abound there. — **porticus**, *arcades*. — **prytaneum**, the building in which the city was conceived to have its home. Here was the hearth, sacred to Vesta, whence colonists carried the sacred fire to kindle a new hearth in the *prytaneum* of their new home. It was also used for courts of justice, public banquets, &c. — **curia**, *senate house*, the building where the administration of public affairs was conducted. — **urbis**, i. e. Achradina. — **perpetua**, *running its whole length*. — **continentur**, *are lined in continuous row*. — **Tycha**, Doric form of *Τυχή*, *Fortuna*. — **gymnasium**, the place for exercise and baths, with porticos, groves, and halls, somewhat like the *thermae* of Rome under the Empire, only that the Greeks gave more attention to physical and intellectual exercises, and less to the luxuries of bathing. — **coœdificata**, *built on*. — **Neapolis**, “the new city.” — **quam ad summam**, *at the highest point of which*.

45. § 6. **Marcellum**: Marcus Claudius Marcellus, of a noble plebeian family (all other Claudii were patricians), was the ablest general the Romans had in the early years of the Second Punic War, but illiterate and cruel; called “the Sword of Rome.” He was killed in battle, B. C. 208. — **ornatu**, *adornments*. — **habuit rationem**, *had regard for* (compare Livy, xxv. 31). — **deportare**: the Romans, like Napoleon, were in the habit of carrying off with them whatever works of art and other treasures might redound to the reputation of their city. — **victoriæ**, *the right of victory*; **humanitatis**, *the part of humanity*.

§ 7. **Honoris, Virtutis**: it was a characteristic of the Roman religion to worship and build temples to abstractions. The temple of *Virtus* was built, and that of *Honor* restored, by Marcellus. — **in ædibus**, etc., i. e. his own house, garden, and suburban estate. — **ornamento**, i. e. as being free from stolen treasures. — **deum**, i. e. statue. — **jurisdictionem**, the special function of the prætor. — **ne qua injuria**, *lest some injustice*. — **comitatum**, *train*.

§ 8. **religionum**, *things sacred*; **consuetudinis**, i. e. things hallowed by use. — **Agathoclis**, tyrant of Syracuse, B. C. 317–289.

46. **profana fecissent**: the Romans had a formula by which they called away (*evocare*) and gained over to their side the tutelary deities of any cities that they were besieging. Of course, the temples of these gods then lost all their sanctity, and became profane buildings. The true name of Rome and that of its tutelary

divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy, who might thus disarm the city of its protector. The formula is thus given by Macrobius, Saturn. iii. 9: — *Si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela, teque maxime ille qui urbis hujus populi que tutelam recepisti, precor venerorque veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos populum civitatemque Carthaginiensem deseratis, loca templa sacra urbemque eorum relinquatis, absque his abeat, eique populo [civitati] metum formidinem oblivionem iniciatis, proditque Romam ad me meosque veniatis, nostraque vobis loca templa sacra urbs acceptior probatiorque sit, mihi que populoque Romano militibusque meis præpositi sitis, ut sciamus intellegamusque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa ludosque facturum.*

§ 9. *in quibus erant, upon which were represented.* — *imagines, portraits.* — *Siciliæ regum, i. e. those rulers of Syracuse and other cities who had exercised dominion beyond their own cities.* — *cognitione formarum, acquaintance with their features.*

§ 10. *valvis, folding doors, opening inward.* They were found especially in temples. — *tam . . . cupidum, that I am so eager* (in appos. with *quod*). — *liquido, with a clear conscience.* — *illi, i. e. the Greeks, as too fond of art.*

**47.** *argumenta, stories* (in relief).

§ 11. *Gorgonis, the head of Medusa, a favorite subject of ancient art.* — *gramineas hastas, bamboo stalks.* — *in hoc nomine, at this point* (i. e. wondering why they were mentioned). — *commoveri, startled.* — *satis esset* (§ 58, 10, d): i. e. they were only curiosities. — *id* merely repeats *hastas*.

§ 12. *nam* explains (ironically) why he mentions the valueless bamboos, &c. Those have no excuse; but the Sappho was so fine, etc. — *Silanius, an artist of the time of Alexander the Great.* — *quisquam* (see § 21, 2, h). — *potius, etc, rather than this most tasteful and cultivated man, Verres.* — *nimirum, of course.* — *delicati, pampered.* — *eat, must go* (§ 57, 3). — *ad ædem Felicitatis: the temple of Felicitas was adorned with the spoils of conquered Corinth.* Catulus had adorned his temple of *Fortuna*, and Metellus his portico, with splendid works of art. — *istorum, Verres and his friends.* — *Tusculanum, villa at Tusculum* (about 15 miles south-east of Rome) where the wealthy Romans, Hortensius among the rest, had splendid country-houses. — *forum ornatum, i. e. on festal days* (see Livy, ix. 40). — *commodarit, lent: such works of art were often placed temporarily on the forum.* — *operari, mere day-laborer: in allusion to the works of art that Verres had manufactured under his own eye.* — *studia, fine tastes; delicias, luxurious pleasures.*

**48.** *ad ferenda*, etc., *to carry* (as a porter) *than to carry off* (as a connoisseur): a sarcasm on Verres' coarse and sturdy build.

§ 13. *pernobile*, *very famous*. — *Græculus*, in contemptuous allusion to his pretence of taste. — *subtiliter judicat*, *is a fine connoisseur*. — *nunc*, *at this moment*.

§ 14. *Pæanis*, Apollo, as god of healing. — *Aristæus*, son of Apollo, discoverer of the olive, and of various improvements in husbandry. [The gloss *Liberi filius* is incorrect: *patre* below does not mean *his father*, but is a common attribute of Liber, as well as of Mars and other gods.] — *parinum* (corrupt and meaningless): the common reading is *parvum*: perhaps the old conjecture *Parium*, of *Parian marble*, is best.

§ 15. *Jovem*: identified from some fancied resemblance with Ζεύς οἰστρος, god of favorable weather. — *Flamininus*: T. Quinctius Flamininus, who defeated Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephalæ, B. C. 197.\* — *in Ponti ore*: the Thracian Bosphorus (Straits of Constantinople). — *Capitolio*: the Capitol, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, had three *cellæ*, or chapels, sacred to the Capitoline triad, — Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This was now the most illustrious temple, "the earthly abode" of Jupiter.

**49.** *incolæ*, *residents*: i. e. persons of foreign birth, who made Syracuse their home, without having obtained citizenship. — *advenæ*, *visitors*.

§ 16. *adventu*, *by his coming*. In fact, the chief plunder was two or three years after his arrival.

§ 17. *mensas Delphicas*, tables with three legs, like the Delphic tripod. — *vasa Corinthia* were made of a kind of bronze, of peculiar beauty and very costly.

§ 18. *fanorum*, *shrines*: this word is of the same root (FA) as *fatum*, *nefas*, &c., and indicates whatever is consecrated by signs (the expressions of Divine will) to religious purposes. (Hartung, *Rel. der Röm.* i. p. 137.) It is therefore the consecrated spot, rather than the temple or altar erected upon it.

**50.** § 19. *desierunt*, *ceased*, i. e. by the transference of the courts to the Senators. — *Crasso*: Lucius Crassus, the famous orator, and Quintus Scævola, *pontifex maximus*, the famous jurist and statesman, were close friends and colleagues in nearly every office. They were curule ædiles, B. C. 103, and gave the first exhibition of lion-fights. The splendor of their ædileship was the work of Crassus, a man of elegant and luxurious tastes, while Scævola was moderate and simple in his habits. — *Claudio*. This was (according to Drumann) a brother of Claudia, the wife of Tiberius Grac-

\* There may be some confusion here with T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, who brought a bust of Jupiter Imperator from Præneste to Rome and placed it in the Capitoline temple. At any rate, it was destroyed in the burning of the Capitol B. C. 83. (Comp. Liv. vi. 20.)

chus. In his ædileship, B. C. 99, he exhibited fights of elephants. — **commercium** : Crassus and Claudius would have bought these objects if anybody could have done it. (Supply *commercium* with *fuisse*.)

§ 20. **referri**, *be entered*, has for subject **pretio** . . . **abalienasse**. — **rebus istis**, *things of that sort*. — **apud illos**, i. e. the Greeks generally. — **socios** (see note on *provincia*, Verr. i. § 11).

§ 21. **Reginos** : Rhegium, *Reggio*, was a very ancient Greek city, at the point of Italy nearest Sicily. It was a colony of Chalcis, probably founded in the eighth century B. C., and became a Roman *municipium* after the Social War, B. C. 90. — **merere velle**, *would take*. — **illa**, *that famous* (§ 20, 2, *b*). — **Tarentinos** : Tarentum was the largest Greek city in Italy, a colony of Sparta, founded in the eighth century B. C., subjugated by Rome just after the invasion of Pyrrhus, B. C. 272.

**51. Satyrum**. The satyrs were divinities of nature, inhabiting the woods, represented with pointed and hairy ears, knobs upon the forehead, &c.

The towns here mentioned as centres of Greek art are the following: — *Thespia*, a city of Boeotia, always allied with Athens: the statue of Eros (Cupid) was one of the most famous works of Praxiteles. *Cnidus*, a Dorian town in Asia Minor: the statue of Venus there was accounted one of the finest of all the works of Praxiteles. *Cos*, an island on the coast of Asia Minor: here was the picture of Venus by Apelles. *Ephesus*, one of the chief Ionian towns of Asia Minor: it was now at the height of its splendor and commercial greatness. *Cyzicus*, a Greek city, on a peninsula, on the southern coast of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora). *Rhodes*, then the chief commercial city of the East, and a powerful independent state: Ialysus was a native here. *Athens*: the works of art here mentioned at Athens were by the most famous artists, — Scopas, Protogenes, and Myron.

**longum est**, *it would be tedious* (fut. cond., § 60, 2, *c*).

## CRUCIFIXION OF A ROMAN CITIZEN.

THE fifth speech of the *Accusatio* is entitled *De Suppliciis*, because it details the cruelties of Verres. The passage here given is one of the most graphic and celebrated.

§ 1. **nunc**, opposed to the time of the *actio prima*, which he has just referred to. — **hoc genere**, *this one class*, i. e. bloody executions, as contrasted with the *variety of charges*, below. — **tot horas dicam**, § 58, 2, *a*. — **quæ sint**, § 65, 2. — **tenerem**, § 58, 10, *a*. — **rem**, *the facts* (emphatic). — **in medio**, *before you*.

§ 2. **Consanus**, of Consa (Compsa), a town in Samnium. — **in illo numero** : Cicero has been describing the treatment of a number of fugitives from the insurrectionary army of Sertorius in Spain, who had made their way to Sicily after the death of Sertorius, B. C. 72, and the overthrow of his faction by Pompey. — **nescio qua**,

§ 67, 2, *e.* — *lautumilis*, the stone-quarries, at Syracuse, used as a prison. — *Messanam*, the present Messina, the point of Sicily nearest Italy.

Messana was at first called Zankle (*sickle*), from the shape of the tongue of land which forms the harbor. It was one of the group of Grecian colonies founded in the eighth century B. C. The name was changed three centuries later, in honor of the Greek Messene. It was one of the very few privileged towns, *civitates federatæ*, of Sicily (see note on *aratorum*, Verr. i. § 13). It was specially favored by Verres, and, as is represented by Cæro, was an accomplice of his iniquities.

**Reginorum**: Rhegium is almost in sight of Messana. — *odore*, breath.

**52.** *recta*, sc. *via*. — *praesto futurum*, would be on hand. — *advenienti*, at his arrival.

§ 3. *in prætorio*, the house (or palace) of the prætor, as an imperial magistrate. — *ante*, Lib. iv. 23. — *adjutricem*, accomplice; *consciam*, confidant. — **Mamertinum**. The city of Messana had been treacherously taken possession of by a body of mercenaries, who called themselves *Mamertini* (children of Mars), about B. C. 282. Although the name of the city was not changed, yet its citizens were from this time called *Mamertini*. — *defertur*, is reported (officially). — *ipse*, Verres.

§ 4. *expectabant*, were on the watch to see. — *quo tandem*, how far: *tandem* (as also *nam*) gives a sense of wonder to the question, which cannot be preserved in English in an indirect question. — *expediri*, to be got ready, by untying the *fascæ* (rods and axe), which were the badge of the prætor's *imperium*. — *meruisse*, etc., *stipendia*, served as a soldier. — *cum splendidissimo*: *cum* indicates that he had been his comrade, not his subordinate. — **Panhormi** (all harbor), the present Palermo: in spite of its Greek name, this was originally a Phœnician settlement. — *negotiaretur*, was in business, i. e. at this time (see note on *negotiatores*, Verr. i. § 20). — *fugitivorum*, escaped slaves, whose insurrection had made the frightful servile war of Spartacus, B. C. 73–71.

§ 5. *civitatibus*, citizenship. — *dolorem*, cries of pain. — *cum*, § 62, 2, *b* (R. 2). — *commemoratione*, claim.

**53.** *crux*, the special punishment of slaves. — *perfecti*, gained (by his prayers). — *infelici*, ill-omened. — *pestem*, cursed instrument.

§ 6. *lex Porcia*, which forbade the scourging of citizens (see Liv. x. 9). — *leges Sempronie* (of Caius Gracchus), which gave the right of appeal in capital cases, even against the military *imperium*. In civil life it had existed ever since the foundation of the republic. (Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, iii. p. 140. See Catil. iv. 5; Rabir. 4). — *tribunicia potestas*, see note Verr. i. § 44. — *hucine*, § 20, 1, R. — *beneficio*, favor, in conferring authority upon him. — *admovebantur*, were applied. — *quemquam*, § 21, 2, *h.*

§ 7. *agere, treat; statui modum, set a limit.* — *Glabrionem*, subj. of *tacere*. — *consilium, jury*: he feared that lynch law would get the start of a legal verdict. — *repetisse, inflicted*: lit. *exacted*; punishment being regarded as a *forfeit*. The original root *PU* (*purify*) is found in *purus* and *putare*. — *veritus esset* has for its subject *populus Romanus*.

§ 8. *quid . . . sit, what will happen to you.* — *istum, i. e. whom you misrepresent.* — *repentinum, of a sudden*, having never been such a thing before. — *speculatorem, spy*.

§ 4. *ad arbitrium tuum, as many as you like.* — *municipes, fellow-townsmen.* — *necessarios*, see note on *necessitudinem*, Verr. i. § 11. — *sero, too late* (for you, but not too late for the court). — *judices, obj. of doceant*.

§ 9. *patronis*, see note, R. A., § 4. — *istuc ipsum, that single fact.* — *nuper tu ipse*, here Cicero draws on his imagination for his facts. — *ideo, for this season, i. e. quod, etc.* — *jam, i. e. after you have said that.* — *Tauromenitano*: Tauromenium was an allied state of Sicily, between Messina and Syracuse. — *argentariam [rem], banking business*.

§ 10. *ex eo genere, i. e. non qui, etc.* — *induatur, etc.* (§ 23, 3, N.), *tie himself up and strangle himself* (as in a noose).

§ 5. *usurpatione, claim.*

§ 11. *quo = ad quos.* — *cognitoribus, vouchers.* — *legum exactionis, obj. gen. with periculo*; *continentur, restrained.* — *sermonis . . . societate, by fellowship in language, rights, and interests.*

§ 12. *tolle, a sort of protasis* (§ 60, 1, b), of which the apod. is *jam . . . præcluseris*, below. — *quod velit, any he pleases* (§ 65, 2). — *quod . . . ignoret, because one may not know him.* — *liberas civitates, the allied states in the provinces, which were not strictly under the jurisdiction of the prætors.* — *magnum fuit, would it have been, etc.* (§ 60, 2, c). — *adservasses, you should have kept.* — *dum veniret, till he should come.* — *cognosceret, should he know* (understand *si*: compare Greenough's "Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive," pp. 10, 11, note). — *locupletem* refers properly to landed property, and very likely has this meaning here. Landed proprietors (freeholders) ranked as peculiarly respectable, until the great growth of commerce within the last few centuries.

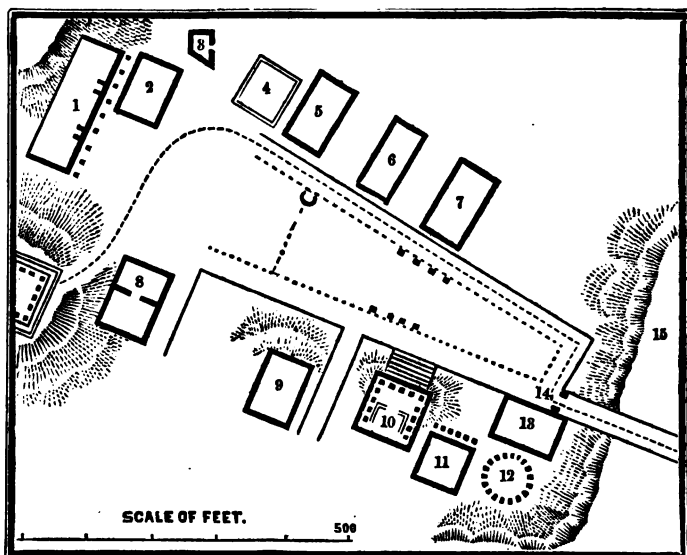
§ 6. § 13. *fretum, the strait of Messina, which separates Sicily from Italy.* — *servitutis*: the cross was the special punishment of slaves.

§ 14. *parricidium*: for the peculiar horror with which this crime was regarded by the Romans, see note, R. A., § 19. — *in comitio*: the *comitium* was a portion of the Forum, somewhat elevated, and set apart from the rest; it was used for the most ancient *comitia*,

the *curiata* (in which the people were assembled by the thirty hereditary *curiæ*), for hearing lawsuits, and for *contiones*. (Its position is a subject of great controversy: probably it was at the end of the Forum towards the Capitoline hill) — *defigere*, plant. — *quod*: i. e. *that point which*. — *celebritate*, thronged condition. — *potuit*, sc. fieri. — *prætervectione*, etc., on the track of all who sail to and fro by the Straits of Messina.

## THE ROMAN FORUM.

NORTH.



The *Forum Romanum* was an open space, about 600 feet long, and 200 feet wide at its broader end, which lay against the steep slope of the Capitoline Hill. It was surrounded by the principal buildings of the city, something as represented above — though the exact position of most of them is uncertain. The space bounded by the broken line is flagged; at the broader end was the *Comitium*, higher than the rest; between them the *Rostra*, from which a speaker could face either part. Statues and monuments were set here and there in the space, and rows of shops or booths (*tabernæ*) were on each side.

The line ---- represents the probable route of the triumphal procession along the *Sacra Via*, passing by the *Clivus Capitolinus* and the 100 steps up to the temple of Capitoline Jupiter. The two summits at the left were covered with temples; and the Palatine, at the right (below) with the finest private residences. Portions of the pavement have been uncovered at a depth of 15 to 20 feet below the present level of the streets, and 53 feet below the higher portion of the *Sacra Via*, as it passes over the *Velia*, the low hill at the right.

The known or probable sites are — 1. Tabularium. — 2. Temple of Concord. — 3. Dungeon (*carcer*). — 4. Senaculum (open platform in the space called *Volcanal*, and connected with the *Græcostasis*, for the reception of ambassadors). — 5. Curia Hostilia. — 6. Basilica Porcia. — 7. Curia Æmilia. — 8. Temple of Saturn. — 9. Basilica Semproniana. — 10. Temple of Castor. — 11. Temple of Minerva. — 12. Temple of Vesta. — 13. Regia. — 14. Fabian Arch. — 15. Altar of the Penates (on the *Velia*).

## THE MANILIAN LAW.

*Argument.*

CHAP. I. *Exordium*. Why this is Cicero's first appearance before a political assembly. — *Narratio*. 2. Statement of the case: Mithridates and Tigranes have made war on the Roman domain. The war is demanded by the dignity and safety of the State. — *Confirmatio*. I. 3, 4. Conduct of Mithridates: his preparations for war; massacre of Roman citizens; success of former commanders. — 5. Present tameness of the Roman people contrasted with their ancient pride. The allies, whose safety is at stake, demand Pompey as commander. — 6. The chief revenues are at stake, endangered by mere suspicion of calamity. — 7. The general financial ruin resulting from disaster to the *publicani*. — II. 8. Magnitude of the war: (objection that, though important, it is not formidable:) successful campaign of Lucullus. — 9. But Mithridates has gained new strength; fresh nations are roused, and the Roman army disheartened; possible disaster. — III. 10. Who then should be appointed? Military experience of Pompey — 11, 12. His successes, especially in the Piratic war. State of things in that war, even in the neighborhood of Rome. — 13, 14. His moral qualities: blamelessness, humanity, self-restraint, easy manners. — 15. His prestige and influence, especially as derived from the Piratic war. — 16. His reputation in the East, largely resulting from his brilliant fortune. — 17. Moreover, he is on the spot. — *Confutatio*. Objection of Hortensius, that all power ought not to be given to one man. — 18. Refuted by the precedent of the Gabinian Law. — 19. (Incidentally Gabinius should be assigned to Pompey as *legatus*.) — 20. Objection of Catulus, that the proposition is against precedent. — 21. Evaded by referring to other violations of precedent in Pompey's case. — 22. Appeal to the people against these objections. Peculiar qualities are needed, which exist in him. — 23. His especial virtue of moderation and self-restraint. — *Peroratio*. 24. Cicero advocates his cause purely from devotion to the commonwealth.

The speech on the Manilian Law is pronounced by Halm to give a better example of the systematic plan of a deliberative oration than any other of antiquity. It was delivered in a *contio*, or public meeting of Roman citizens, held for debate or address merely. The *contio* could be called by any magistrate who had any matter to lay before the people, and was held regularly in the *Comitium*, or elevated part of the Forum (See note on Verr. V. § 14.) After a *rogatio* (proposition of a law) had been offered, the *contio* was called, in order that the voters might hear the arguments on both sides; and any person might speak to whom the presiding magistrate gave permission. When the *rogatio* had been thus discussed, the *comitia* (see note on Verr. I. § 18) voted upon it, Yes or No.

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58. § 1. *frequens conspectus vester*, the sight of you in full assembly. — *hic locus*, the *Rostra*. — *agendum*, taking public action (see note, R. A., § 55). — *amplissimus*, dignified (of the magistrates' power); *ornatissimus*, honorable (of private glory). — *Quirites*, fellow-citizens: the name by which the Romans were addressed when acting in a civil capacity. The word is usually derived from *quiris*, spear (a Sabine word): by Lange and others it is connected with *curia*, the earliest political division of the people. — *hoc aditu*, this avenue: i. e. addressing them on political questions. — *optimo cuique* (§ 17, 5, c), i. e. such as the



Lucullus of the fruits of his victories. — *discedere, is on the point of going.* — *qui successerit, i. e. Glabrio.* — *non satis paratum, not adequately furnished.* — *sociis, i. e. of Asia; civibus, Romans engaged in business there.* — *imperatorem, in pred. appos. with unum.*

60. § 6. *certissima*: because the province of Asia was the richest and most fruitful of all. — *agitur, is at stake.* — *ornamenta, requisites (from orno, equip).*

§ 7. *civis Romanos, etc.* This massacre (B. C. 88), in which 80,000 persons perished, was intended by Mithridates as a step to the entire expulsion of the Roman power from Asia. — *significatione litterarum, signal by letter.* — *luce, contrasted with latebris.* — *versari, to move freely.*

§ 8. *etenim, for (you will notice).* — *triumphavit de, not triumphed over, but led a triumph for [victory over].* The word is repeated in emphatic antithesis to the clause *sed...regnaret.*

The *triumphus* was the solemn procession in which the *imperator* entered the city at the head of his victorious army, ascended the Capitoline, and performed sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus. The victory must have been a considerable one (5,000 of the enemy must have fallen), won by the commander himself in a war waged against foreign enemies. Triumphs were therefore never celebrated for victories in a civil war.

*regnaret, i. e. they left him his kingdom.* — *verum tamen, but still.* — *quod egerunt, for what they have done:* *quod* implies the antecedent *propter id*, or a similar phrase. — *res publica:* Sulla hastened to make an unsatisfactory peace, that he might return to Italy and restore order there.

61. § 9. *autem, now (opposing M. to the Roman generals).* — *reliquum, that followed.* — *belli, obj. gen.* — *Bosporanis, people of Bosphorus.*

The kingdom of Bosphorus (so named from the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the entrance to the Sea of Azof), was a flourishing Grecian state, embracing the Crimea and adjoining lands: capital, *Panticapæum* (Kertsch). This region was then, as now, a chief source of the supply of wheat for Europe. It was seized by Mithridates, who placed his son Machares as ruler there.

*ad eos duces, i. e. Sertorius and his comrades.*

Sertorius was the ablest general of the Marian faction in the civil wars. After the victory of Sulla, and the complete overthrow of his own party, he continued to hold Spain, where he attempted a new republic, entering into alliance with Mithridates and other enemies of Rome.

*de imperio, for supremacy.*

§ 10. *alterius* corresponds to *altera*, below. — *firmamenti, outward support; roboris, intrinsic strength.* — *Cn. Pompei:* in fact, neither Pompey ("the boy") nor Metellus Pius ("the old woman") was able to subdue Sertorius, who was treacherously assassinated (B. C. 72). — *rerum gestarum, deeds.* — *hæc extrema, these late disasters.* — *tribuenda, attributable.*

§ 11. *animum, feeling.* — *putatis, i. e. from your point of view.* — *superbius, too haughtily.*

In B. C. 148, the Roman ambassadors required the Achaian League to give up all its recent acquisitions; at which the incensed people insulted the ambassadors and drove them away. In the war that followed, Corinth was captured by Mummius and destroyed, while Greece was made into a province by the name of Achaia.

**legatum consularem, M.' Aquilius, envoy to Nicomedes (B.C. 88).**

Manius Aquilius — colleague of Marius (B.C. 101), who had earned a triumph by suppressing the second slave revolt in Sicily — was sent by the Senate (B.C. 88), at the head of a special commission, to restore Nicomedes, who had been driven out from Bithynia by Mithridates. By his counsel a raid was made into the territory of Mithridates, followed, after some negotiations, by war, in which he commanded a division of 40,000 troops. The allies were defeated. Aquilius was captured in flight on his way to Rhodes, and surrendered to Mithridates; who, after parading him on a donkey through a long march, ordered melted gold poured down his throat. He was not, in reality, protected by the *jus legationis*, which in any case he had forfeited; but his title as envoy (*legatus*) gave Cicero the opportunity of this very effective appeal.

**62. § 12. videte, see to it** = see whether it be not. — *ut, as, correl. with sit.* — *illis, i. e. your ancestors.* — *non posse, subj. of sit.* — *quid, a regular formula of transition: again.* — *periculum ac discrimen, a dangerous crisis:* the former word signifying the *trial*; the latter, the *decision*. — *expectare, look to.* — *certum, a particular.* — *sine summo periculo, i. e. by offending Lucullus and Glabrio.*

§ 13. *sentiunt, feel.* — *propter, at hand.* — *quo, abl. of means with ægrius.* — *adventu ipso, by his mere coming.* — *maritimum:* the war against the pirates had just been finished by Pompey with great glory. — *ceterarum provinciarum:* the Gabinian Law gave Pompey power over the entire Mediterranean, and the coasts fifty miles inland. The province of Bithynia, and most of Asia, were therefore excluded (not Greece, however: but *Græcia* may here mean the Greek cities in Asia). The Manilian law extended this power over the entire East. — *quorum . . . commendetis (§ 65, 2, f), worthy for you to, &c.* — *ejus modi homines, men of that stamp:* the expression is none too strong for the average type of provincial governors.

§ 14. the events here alluded to are the following: —

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, was defeated by Scipio Asiaticus at Magnesia, B. C. 190. Philip V., king of Macedonia, was defeated by Flamininus, at Cynocephalæ, B. C. 197. The Ætolians had helped Rome against Philip, and then joined Antiochus against her. They were obliged to submit after the battle of Magnesia. Carthage revolted after the third Punic War, B. C. 149; and was taken and destroyed by Scipio Æmilianus in B. C. 148.

**63. agatur, etc., it is a question of your richest revenues.**

The province of Asia, like Sicily (see note on *aratorum*. Verr. I. § 13), paid the tenth of all products, *decumæ*. The collection of this was farmed out by the censors to companies of *publicani*. This method was instituted by Caius Gracchus, in order to gain over to his side the equestrian order, to which the publicans belonged. All other provinces regularly paid a *stipendium*, or fixed tax, which they raised themselves.

The description given below of Asia Minor is no longer true, since bad government and bad cultivation have exhausted its remarkable natural wealth.

*tanta, so great* [only]. — *vix contenti*, i. e. they will hardly pay the costs of their own defence. — *agrorum*, whence the tithes of grain, &c. — *pastionis, pasture land*, let to publicans, who paid a tax called *scriptura* (so called from the register that was made of the number of the cattle grazing on the pastures). — *exportantur*: the *portoria* were tolls and customs' duties paid upon goods both exported and imported: the rate was  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , or (in Sicily) 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

§ 15. *inruptio, inroad*. — *pecuaria*, etc.: parallel with the classification of *vectigalia*, given before: *portu*, etc., repeat them in inverse order. — *exercent, manage*, refers to the *societates publicanorum*, who took contracts for collecting the revenues; *exigant, collect*, to the agents and slaves who attended to the details of the collection. — *excursio, cavalry-raid*. — *familias*, see note R. A. § 35.

It must be remembered that the Roman slaves were not merely rude Gauls and Thracians, but educated Greeks and Asiatics. They served in noble families as secretaries, stewards, and tutors; and would naturally be employed by the great tax-collecting corporations as clerks and agents.

*saltibus, mountain pastures* (like those of Vermont or New Hampshire). Here again we have allusion to three classes of revenue: *scriptura* (in *saltibus*), *decumæ* (in *agris*), *portoria* (in *portubus*). — *custodiis, police-guards*, stationed to prevent smuggling, at the custom-houses and toll-houses. — *posse, will be able*, in connection with *conservarit* (fut. perf.).

§ 17. *ne . . . quidem, not . . . either*. — *quod pertinet, which bears upon*, &c. The antecedent is *genere*. — *nam et* corresponds to *deinde* (§ 18). — *honestissimi, respectable*; *ornatissimi, well-provided*, i. e. with the requisites for their enterprise, being men of wealth.

64. *rationes, business enterprises*; *copias, fortunes*. — *in illam provinciam*, i. e. the farming of revenues. — *ipsorum, etc., for their own sake*. — *ceterorum omnium*, i. e. the senators and commonalty.

§ 18. *ex ceteris ordinibus* appears here to refer to other companies besides the *publicani*, who carried on business in the provinces. — *negotiantur*, see note on *negotiatores*, Verr. I. § 20. — *eorum* (redundant) limits *partim*. — *conlocatas, invested*. — *primum* answers to *deinde*, § 19. — *illud parvi refert, etc., it is of slight consequence that we can afterwards win back by victory*: *publica* agrees with *vectigalia*; *his*, i. e. the *publicani*. — *redimendi, leasing* the revenues: the word regularly used for taking a contract by bid.

§ 19. *memoria, loc. abl.* (§ 54, 10). — *cum amiserant* (statement of fact in absolute time, § 62, 2, *b, R.*), *when* (as you remember), &c. — *solutione . . . concidisse* (description of a financial

panic), *when payments were suspended, credit fell.* — *ut non trahant without dragging.* — *prohibete*, this verb is used, like *defendere*, in the sense either of *ward off*, or of *defend*. — *ratio pecuniarum*, *system of money transactions.* — *in foro*, see Verr. vi. § 4. — *versatur*, *centres.* — *pecuniis*, *finances.* — *ruere*, *be ruined.* — *illa, hæc*, used of distance in *place.* — *num . . . sit*, *whether you ought to hesitate* : *dubitandum*, impersonal, and followed (as usual) by the complem. infin. in the sense of *utrum* or *quin*.

§ 20. *potest* (emphatic position), etc., *it may be said* (in answer to my argument). — *belli genus*, i. e. *the war, in its character.*

65. *elaborandum est*, i. e. *I must*, etc. — *ornatas, equipped; instructas, organized.* — *obsessam, invested; oppugnatam, attacked* by the active operations of siege. This was B. C. 74.

§ 21. *in Italiam* : the fleet which Mithridates was despatching to Italy, with a contingent furnished by Sertorius, was defeated by Lucullus near the island Lemnos. — *studio*, *zeal* for one party; *odis*, *hate* for the other. — *Pontum*, i. e. the Euxine Sea. — *ex omni aditu, at every approach.* — *Sinopen, Amisum*, towns on the north coast of Asia Minor. In fact, they both made a very stubborn resistance : *uno aditu*, etc., may be meant only to apply to the “numerous other cities.” — *aditu, approach; adventu, arrival.* (It is a frequent practice thus to use two words meaning almost precisely the same thing, but viewed from different points, giving the emphasis of repetition without its tautology.) — *alios reges* : his son Machares, king of Bosphorus, and his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia. (“All Cicero’s talk about the campaign of Lucullus is so vague that it is impossible to extract a fact out of it.” — Long.) — *supplicem*, in appos. with *se*. — *salvis*, i. e. without harming the allies : *integris*, without impairing the revenues.

§ 22. *primum* : the corresponding particles are omitted ; the next point begins at § 23. — *Ponto* : on whose eastern shore was Colchis, the scene of the adventures of the Argonauts and the golden fleece (see Classical Dictionary). — *quam prædicant, who, as they tell.* (The usual form of indir. disc., *that*, cannot be used with a relative in English.) — *persequetur, was likely to follow.* The same form would be used in dir. disc. — *conlectio dispersa, the scattered gathering*, giving vividly the idea of his wandering about to pick them up.

66. *vim auri*, etc., the immense treasures which Mithridates had accumulated in his several fortresses came into the hands of Lucullus : not money simply, but works of art, &c. — *quas et . . . et = quas partim . . . partim.* — *dum* with pres. (§ 58, 2, e). — *illum, hos*, distance and nearness of *time*.

§ 23. *Tigranes* : he did not, however, welcome his father-in-law,

but for some time treated him coldly and suspiciously. — **confirmavit, reassured.** — **eis nationibus**, near Armenia. — **opinio, notion.** — **fani**: "The temple of the Persian Nanæa, or Anaitis, in Elymais or the modern Luristan [that part of Susiana nearest to the Euphrates], the most celebrated and the richest shrine in the whole region of the Euphrates." (Mommsen.) Such a rumor would at once fire the population of the whole East. — **urbem**: Tigranocerta, the new capital of Tigranes, situated in the south-west part of his kingdom, near the river Tigris. The city was destroyed by Lucullus. — **commovebatur, was affected.** After all his successes, Lucullus had made somewhat the same mistake as Napoleon in his Russian expedition, and had found himself in an awkward situation, far from his base of operations, and in the midst of infuriated enemies.

§ 24. **hic, on this point** — **extremum**, the last thing to be expected. — **opes . . . misericordiam**, a short expression for *win over to pity and draw out their resources.* — **ut . . . videatur**, a result-clause following **qui . . . regno**, which implies the motive.

§ 25. **ut . . . attingeret**, in appos. with **eo** following **contentus**. (It should regularly be **quod** with the indic., but the form appears to be determined by **acciderat**.) — **poetæ**: Nævius, who wrote a *Bellum Punicum*, and Ennius, author of *Annales*, recounting events of Roman history. Both lived in the third century B. C. — **calamitatem**: defeat of Triarius (B. C. 67), who was leading reinforcements to Lucullus. Only a severe wound of Mithridates saved the Roman army from utter destruction. — **sermone**, common talk.

§ 26. **offensione, disaster** (a mild word). — **tamen, i. e.** though it was so disastrous. — **vestro jussu, i. e.** the Gabinian law (see Introd.). — **imperii**: the military *imperium* was held by the highest grades of magistrates, and could be extended after the term of office by the Senate. The holder of a command thus "prorogued" was called *proconsul* or *proprætor*. — **diuturnitate**: Lucullus had now held command seven years from B. C. 74. — **veteri exemplo, by old precedent.** — **stipendiis**, properly, *pay*; here, *campaigns.* — **confecti, worn out.** — **conjungant, unite to wage.** — **cogitatis**: i. e. by apprehensions as well for their independence as for their religion. — **integræ nationes**, the other Asiatic nations that would be drawn into the war.

§ 27. **satis . . . videor, I have shown, as I think, at sufficient length.** (Latin prefers the single personal clause to our impersonal parenthetical form, "it seems that I.") — **esset, is** (imperfect by sequence of tenses). — **videatur** (as above). — **utinam haberetis, I wish you had** (§ 68, 1). — **nunc vero, but now** (opposed to the hopeless wish, *utinam*). — **cum sit, where there is** (subj. of charact.). — **unus, but one.** — **Pompeius, etc.** This wonderful exag-

generation, which puts the exploits of Pompey above those of Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio, and other generals of antiquity, probably suited well enough the temper of the assembly. — *superarit*, subj. of charact. (§ 65, 2). — *virtute*, *excellence* (not valor only).

§ 28. *rei militaris*, *military science*. — *auctoritatem*, *prestige*. — *scientior*, *better versed*. — *ludo*, *school*.

68. *bello*, etc., abl. of circumstance. — *ad patris exercitum*: Pompey, then seventeen years old, served with his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, consul B. C. 89, the last year of the social War. — *summi imperatoris*: his father, who commanded on the side of the Senate against Cinna, B. C. 87: *summi* does not here imply supreme abilities, but supreme command. — *imperator*: in B. C. 83 the young Pompey raised an army — largely from his father's immense estates in Picenum — and joined Sulla, who complimented him as *imperator*, although he had not yet held even the quaestorship. — *confixit*, *grappled*. — *quisquam*: for the use of this word after comparative as well as negative constructions, compare the French *ne* after *que* (than). — *inimico*, *a private adversary* (e. g. before a court). — *confecit*, *reduced*. — *imperitis*. The first civil office held by Pompey was the consulship (B. C. 70): all his former offices he exercised as a simple *equus equo publico* (see note, Verr. I. § 1). When the Censors, in his consulship, held the *transvectio equitum*, or formal inspection of the *equites equis publicis*, and asked him the usual question whether he had served all his campaigns, "All," he answered, "and all under my own *imperium*." — *exeruerit*, *given him exercise*. — *civile*, the war of Cinna and Sulla. — *Africanum*, the war with Hiarbas of Numidia; *Transalpinum*, certain hostilities in Gaul, on his way to Spain; *Hispaniense*, the war of Sertorius; *servile*: Pompey, on his return from Spain (B. C. 71), fell in with and cut to pieces the remnants of the troops of Spartacus; *navale*, the war with the pirates, in which Pompey was at present engaged.

§ 30. *Sicilia*. After Sulla's final victory in Italy, in which he was materially aided by the young Pompey, he intrusted to him the subjugation of Sicily and Africa, where Carbo, with the remnants of his power, had taken refuge.

69. *iterum*: in extirpating the last remains of the insurrection of Spartacus; *sæpius* must include his earlier campaigns in Italy, in Sulla's time. The whole passage is a rhetorical exaggeration.

§ 31. *omnes oræ*, etc. There was no extravagance in this: the suppression of piracy was the most glorious part of Pompey's career. — *tam vetus*: the piratical forces were made up of the wreck of those numberless armies beaten and broken up in the wars of the past half-century or more. When the lesser states lost their independence, their bravest men would often prefer the

outlaw freedom of piracy to personal slavery, or even to political subjugation. In fact, the pirate State in Cilicia made a sort of independent republic, unrecognized and defiant.

§ 32. **fuit**: i. e. is no longer. — **propugnaculis**, *outworks*. — **Brundisio**: i. e. the short passage to Greece. — **legati**: the case is not known; probably not an ambassador, but a military aid. The plural is perhaps used rhetorically for the singular. — **redempti**, *bought off, ransomed*. — **duodecim secures**, twelve lictors, who carried axes in bundles of rods (*fascēs*), the symbol of the military *imperium*. The prætors in Rome were attended by two lictors; as governors of provinces, they had six: here, *two prætors*.

§ 33. **Cnidum**, etc.: all of these were important cities, although none of them of the first rank. — **vestros portus**: i. e. those of Caieta, Misenum, and Ostia, mentioned below.

70. **vitam ac spiritum**, i. e. ports of entry are the breath of life to a state like Rome, which must import its daily supplies of food. — **potestatem**: acc., because it is implied that they fell *into* their power. — **Caietæ**, now *Gaëta*, a port on the southern coast of Latium: who was the prætor here referred to is not known. — **Miseno**, the northern promontory of the Bay of Naples: it had a fine harbor, which, under the empire, became the principal naval station of the Tuscan Sea. — **liberos**, a rhetorical use of the plural for the singular, also illustrating the masculine form for either sex: it was a daughter of the distinguished orator Marcus Antonius, who had celebrated a triumph for a victory over the pirates, B. C. 102. — **Ostiense**: Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was the seaport of Rome: the harbor, however, was choked up with sand, and early in the empire it was necessary to construct another artificial harbor in its place. It is not known who was the consul here referred to. — **consul**, the dignity of the commander showing the importance of the fleet. — **esset**, subj. of charact. — **tantam . . . lucem**: the position of these words emphasizes those enclosed by them. — **Oceani ostium**, the Strait of Gibraltar.

§ 34. **sunt**, agreeing directly with **hæc**, instead of **est** with the indir question as subject (compare acc. of anticip. § 67. 2, c). — **tanti belli**, etc., *the rush of so great a war sped over the sea*.

§ 35. The geographical allusions may be explained as follows: —

**Hispaniis**: Spain was occupied by Rome, in the time of the Second Punic War, and made into two Provinces: H. Citerior, extending to the Iberus (afterwards enlarged so as to comprise half the peninsula): H. Ulterior, the territory beyond. — **Gallia**: Gallia Transalpina (or Narbonensis), the whole southern coast of Gaul, was made into a province, B. C. 120. — **Illyrici Maris**: Illyria was always a chief seat of piracy: it had been dependent upon Rome since B. C. 178. — **Achaïam**: this term was usually applied to the Peloponnesus, so that by Græcia is here intended Hellas proper. The independence of Greece ceased with the capture of Corinth by Mummius, B. C. 146; still the chief part of the country remained nominally free, and no regular province was organized until the time of Augustus. — **Duo maria**, the Adriatic Sea (*Mare Superum*), and the Tyrrhenian

(*Mare Inferum*). — *Ciliciam*: *Cilicia aspera*, the western part, had been, since B. C. 103, the regular post of a prætor or pro, prætor (see Verr. I. § 11): in B. C. 75 it was organized as a province, with the adjoining districts of Pamphylia, Isauria, &c. Pompey completed the conquest of the whole country. — *Cretensibus*: Quintus Metellus, the proconsul (the friend of Verres), had reduced Crete nearly to submission, deriving from this his *cognomen* Creticus. The Cretans, alienated by his harshness, sent to Pompey, that he might receive their surrender, rather than Metellus, which Pompey was very willing to do. Civil war nearly broke out between the two commanders in consequence. Pompey, however, who had his hands full in Asia, withdrew from the field and left the honors to his rival.

**71.** *premebantur, felt the weight.*

§ 36. *imperatoris*: of a commander. — *quid ceteræ, how with the others?* — *administræ, handmaids.* — *innocentia*: the word especially used to denote cleanness of hands in the governor of a province (see Verr. I. § 34). — *temperantia, self-restraint.* — *humanitate, courtesy.* — *quæ, acc. of anticip.* (§ 67, 2, c).

§ 37. *putare* (in its earlier meaning of reckon), etc., *count as such.* — *centuriatus*: the office of centurion. Two centurions commanded each *manipulus* of 200 men. The Legion was divided into thirty maniples; and after the time of Marius, also into ten cohorts of three maniples each: under the empire the manipulus was divided into two *centuriæ*, each commanded by a centurion. The centurions were advanced from the ranks by appointment of the commander: hence *venire*. — *amplum cogitare, have any grand ideas.* — *ærariorum*: the treasury was in the Temple of Saturn, under the superintendence of the two city quæstors. The actual management of the funds was in the hands of a large body of clerks, *scribæ*, who formed a permanent *collegium*. — *provinciæ, sc. retinendæ*: for which he desired the influence of the magistrates. Nothing is known as to the circumstances here hinted at. — *in quæstu, on speculation.* — *facit ut, etc., shows that you know* (compare note, § 24).

§ 38. *recordamini, protasis* (§ 60, 1, b). — *quid existimetis, in dir. disc.* it would be the same form, as *deliberative subj.* (§ 57. 6).

**72.** *urbis, acc.* — *hibernis*: notice the strong antithesis; *sociorum* limits *civitates*. — *judicando*: a great part of the emperor's business would be deciding cases of extortion by the *publicani*, who were of the same class (*equites*) that held the judicial power in Rome. By favoring them, he might purchase immunity for himself, if brought to trial on a similar charge.

§ 39. *manus, vestigium*: i. e. not only was there no intentional violence, but no unintended evils followed in its train. — *jam, here simply a particle of transition, made emphatic by vero*: that which follows refers to the winter quarters. — *sermone, reports, by way of common talk.* — *ut . . . faciat, to incur expense* in entertaining officers and soldiers. — *enim*: understand, "and in this he follows old custom," *for, etc.* — *hiemis, from winter* (obj. gen.): *avaritiæ, for avarice* (subj. gen.).



§ 40. *celeritatem*, *speed*; *cursum*, *extent of travel*. — *remigum*: galleys, worked by oars and independent of the wind, were generally used as war vessels. In the Mediterranean (particularly in the Barbary states) their use was continued till a very late day; and for some purposes they are still employed. Their trained crews of rowers gave them a speed hardly less than that of steam-vessels. — *non . . . quædam . . . aliqui*, *it was not that some*, &c. — *amœnitates*, used of objects of sight, beauty of scenery, &c. — *labor*, *toil*, always with the sense of effort and fatigue. — *signa*, *statues*; *tabulas*, *pictures* (on wood).

§ 41. *hac continentia*, i. e. such as his. — *jam videbatur*, *was now getting to seem*. — *nunc*: notice the emphatic repetition ("anaphora"). — *servire quam imperare*, a rhetorical exaggeration for preferring the condition of subject allies to nominal independence. The language may also refer to such cases as that of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who left his kingdom by bequest to Rome, B. C. 133.

73. § 42. *consilio*, etc., compare § 36. — *ipso*, *of itself*. — *hoc loco*, the Rostra. — *fidem vero*, etc.: *render, and as to his good faith*, &c., changing the construction so as to keep the emphasis. So *quam*, etc., *when the enemy esteemed it*, &c. (contrasting *hostes* with *socios*. — *pugnantes*, *in battle*; *victi*, *in defeat*. — *consilio*, *purpose*.

§ 43. *auctoritas* = *reputation*. — *imperio militari*, distinguished from the *imperium domi*, or the authority of the consul and prætor within the city, which was subject to intervention and appeal. — *ut . . . ament*, clause of result, following *commoveri*. — *judicia*, i. e. by conferring offices and commands.

§ 44. *illius diei*, i. e. of the proposal of the *Lex Gabinia*, which conferred upon Pompey the command against the pirates. (See Introd.). — *commune*, i. e. against pirates, enemies of all mankind. — *aliorum exemplis*, i. e. by way of contrast.

74. § 45. *proelio*, the defeat of Triarius (see § 25). — *provincia*, i. e. Asia. — *discrimen*, *the turning point*. — *ad eas regiones*, i. e. only into the neighborhood, as Pompey's authority did not reach the seat of war.

§ 46. *illa res*, in appos. with *quod . . . dediderunt*. — *Cretensium*. The towns of the same region or race were often united in leagues or confederacies, chiefly for religious purposes. After the Roman conquest, such *communia* were sometimes left in existence, and even new ones were organized, and these were invested with some subordinate political function. The existence of a *commune Cretensium* is known from inscriptions. (For the incident here referred to, see § 35.) — *ad eundem*, i. e. rather than Quintus Metellus Pius (referred to by *ei quibus*), who also had a command in Spain. Nothing is known of any such embassy, but from

the apologetic tone of what follows, it may be inferred that there was no great honor in the affair. — *eum quem*, one who. — *ei quibus*, while they, &c., i. e. those jealous of Pompey's reputation.

**75.** § 47. *felicitate*: in this quality is implied a special favor of the gods, which it would be presumptuous to arrogate to one's self, although Sulla had done so by assuming the *cognomen* Felix (see R. A. § 12). — *præstare*, give assurance of. — *Maximo*: Quintus Fabius Maximus, "the shield of Rome;" *Marcello*: Marcus Claudius Marcellus, "the sword of Rome," both in the Second Punic War. — *Scipioni*: either Africanus the elder, or Æmilianus: from § 60, it might appear to be the latter. — *Mario*; Caius Marius, who vanquished Jugurtha, subdued the Cimbri and Teutones, and afterwards engaged in civil war with Sulla, B. C. 88. — *sæpius*, repeatedly: Marius was consul seven times. — *fuit* (emphatic), there really has been; *fortuna* is also emphatic. — *invisa*, i. e. presumptuous.

§ 48. *non sum prædicaturus*: this affectation of silence is called *præteritio*. — *proprium ac perpetuum*, secured to him for ever. — *cum . . . tum*, not less . . . than.

§ 49. *cum*, etc., recapitulation. — *quin conferatis*, § 65, 1, b.

**76.** § 50. *erat diligendus*, § 59, 3, d. — *nuno*, as it is. — *utilitates*, advantages. — *opportunitas*, fortunate circumstance. — *eis qui habent*, i. e. Lucullus, Glabrio, and Marcus Rex.

§ 51. *at enim* (objection), but, you will say. — *adfectus*, enjoying. — *Catulus*: Quintus Lutatius Catulus, at this time the leader of the senatorial party; an estimable man and an experienced statesman, but no soldier. The *beneficia amplissima* are the successive offices that had been conferred upon him. — *ornamentis*, endowments. — *Hortensius*, the leading lawyer of the time (see oration against Verres). — *virorum*, etc., see § 68.

§ 52. *obsolevit*, etc., "is played out," become stale. — *Gabinium*, see Introd.; and compare the oration *Post Reditum*, chap. 5. — *promulgasset*, had given notice. — *ex hoc ipso loco*, i. e. in the public discussion of the law, before the vote, in the *contio* (see § 1).

As the Gabinian Law was strictly a *plebiscitum*, brought by a Tribune before the Plebeian Assembly of Tribes (see note on Verr. I. § 18), it did not require any ratification by the Senate (Momm. Röm. Forsch. i p. 239). The expression of opinion by Hortensius must therefore have been in an informal discussion, after the promulgation of the law.

§ 53. *hanc*, i. e. which we have now. — *an* implies a strong negative (§ 71, 2, b). — *legati*, etc. (see §§ 32, 33).

**77.** *commeatu*, supplies, i. e. by the embargo on their trade. — *neque jam*, no longer.

§ 54. *Atheniensium*: the Athenian empire of the sea, in the fifth century B. C., resulted from the great victories in the Persian war. — *Karthaginiensium*: the maritime power of Carthage was

at its height in the third century B. C. — **Rhodium**: the city of Rhodes was the chief naval power of the Mediterranean during the last three centuries before Christ: its power was broken B. C. 42, at its capture by Cassius.

§ 55. **Antiochum**: Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, defeated at Magnesia, B. C. 190. — **Perseus**: Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, defeated at Pydna, B. C. 168. — **Karthaginiensis**: Carthage was mistress of the sea at the time when the wars with Rome began; but in the first Punic War she was beaten at her own weapons. — **paratissimos, best equipped**. — **ei** repeats **nos**: *we*, i. e. that nation. — **præstare, warrant**. — **Delos**, a very small island in the Ægean Sea, sacred as the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. It has an excellent harbor, and this, added to its peculiar sanctity, gave it high importance. It was the nominal seat of the confederacy of which Athens was the head, after the Persian Wars, and had at all times a flourishing commerce. In the time of Cicero it was the great slave market of the world, 10,000 slaves being sometimes sold here in a single day — **commeabant, resorted**. — **Appia Via**, the principal highway of Italy, running from Rome to the next town in importance, Capua. It was commenced by Appius Claudius Cæcus, in his censorship, B. C. 312. — **jam, at length**. — **pudebat**: notice the tense. No special case is referred to, but it is implied that any magistrate ought to have felt shame, seeing that the beaks of ships, *rostra*, were the trophy over a naval power.

74. § 57. **ne legaretur**: the *legati*, who accompanied the general as his staff, were generally nominated by him, but were appointed by the Senate. (For the construction, see § 64, 1.) — **expetenti, earnestly requesting**; **postulanti, claiming** as a right. — **utrum . . . an, § 71, 2**.

§ 58. **C. Falcidius, etc.**: what distinguished the case of these tribunes from that of Gabinius, was that there was a law prohibiting any person from receiving an appointment under a law proposed by himself: compare Art. I. § 5, clause 2 of the United States Constitution. — **honoris causa**, see note on Rosc. Am. § 5. — **in, in the case of**. — **diligentes, scrupulous**. — **me . . . relaturum, I pledge myself to bring it before the Senate**.

To bring business before the Senate (*referre ad Senatum*) was in Cicero's power as prætor. There would be no hindrance to Gabinius being *legatus* under the Manilian Law. The prætor could, however, be forbidden by the edict of the consul (who possessed *major potestas*) from bringing forward any business which was not on the order of the day. If, in spite of the edict, he should persist, as he threatens, the act would nevertheless be valid. The intercession of a Tribune, however, he would be obliged to respect.

**edictum**: the official proclamation or announcement of a magistrate; not, however, of a Tribune, whose act was *intercessio*, which could stop any political action. — **considerabunt, i. e. hesitate** before they set themselves against the will of the people. — **socius**:

not as *legatus* (if it referred to an official position, *ascribetur* would be used), but simply as *partner* in honor and credit.

79. § 59. *cum quaereret*: compare *cum dixistis*, just below (§ 62, 2, b). — *si . . . esset*, if anything should happen to him, — a common euphemism, then as now. — *quo minus . . . hoc magis*, § 54, 6, a.

§ 60. *at enim*, see § 51. — *exempla, precedents; instituta, established customs*. — *paruisse, adcommodasse*: i. e. they disregarded precedents in great emergencies, — a course which thus became itself a controlling precedent. — *temporum*, dep. on *casus, consiliorum* on *rationes* (chiasitic). — *non dicam (præterito)*, I will not speak of. — *ab uno imperatore*: Scipio Africanus the younger (*Æmilianus*), who captured Carthage (B. C. 146) and Numantia (B. C. 133). At this time it was a law that no person should be consul twice. — *C. Mario*: Marius was chosen consul five years in succession, to carry on the wars here referred to.

§ 61. *quam . . . nova*: here certainly the orator makes a point. For the several circumstances see notes on §§ 28-30. — *privatum*, i. e. not a magistrate. — *conficere, make up*, the technical expression for recruiting an army. — *a senatorio gradu*: the Senate could not be entered until after holding the quaestorship, the legal age for which was thirty at least, and regularly thirty-six, while Pompey was at this time (B. C. 82) only twenty-three. — *in ea provincia*, i. e. Africa (Momm. R. S. i. p. 470).

80. *exercitum deportavit*: this was one of the essential conditions of the triumph. — *equitem*, i. e. having never held a magistracy, and so not in the Senate. — *triumphare*: the honor of a triumph was properly accorded only to commanders who possessed the *imperium* in virtue of holding a regular magistracy (Momm. Röm. St. i. p. 109). Pompey's *imperium* was held irregularly, by special appointment of the Senate: both his triumphs, therefore, in B. C. 80 and 71, were irregular, which accounts for the vehement opposition they met.

§ 62. *duo consules*: i. e. Mamercus Lepidus and Decimus Brutus, B. C. 77. Instead of either of these being sent to Spain as proconsul the next year, against Sertorius, Pompey, a simple *eques*, was taken. — *quidem, by the way*. — *non nemo, a man or two*. — *Philippus*, a prominent member of the aristocracy (consul B. C. 91), distinguished for his wit; a man of liberal temper, but a vehement partisan. (For an entertaining anecdote of him, see Horace, Ep. i. 7.) — *pro consulibus, in place of both consuls*.

When it was desired to retain the services of a magistrate after his term of office had expired, his *imperium* was extended (*prorogatum*) by the Senate, and was held by him *pro consule* or *pro prætore*, that is, as having the power of the magistracy, while no longer actually a magistrate. It was only the military *imperium* that was prorogued: its authority did not extend within the walls of Rome, and of course the proconsul possessed

none of the civil powers of the consul within the city, — as, for instance, the right of calling together the Senate or an assembly of the people (Momms. Röm. St. i. pp. 143 and 155). Sometimes a private citizen, like Pompey, was invested with the *imperium*, and called proconsul; but this irregular proconsulship did not rank with the prorogued *imperium* of a regular magistrate, and did not entitle to the honors of a triumph.

**mittere**, for **mitto** of dir. disc. The simple present, along with *sententia*, seems a regular form of giving one's opinion in the Senate. — **duorum**, another exaggeration: only one of these would at any rate have gone as proconsul. — **legibus solutus**, *relieved from the operation of the laws*, i. e. those limiting the age of magistrates (*leges annales*). — **ex senatus consulto**: another irregularity, for the *comitia* were the law-making power, and of course had the sole power of exempting from the laws. — **magistratum**: the legal age of a consul was forty-three, and that of a prætor forty. Pompey was consul B. C. 70, at the age of thirty-six, which was the regular age for the quæstorship. — **iterum**: Pompey celebrated his second triumph Dec. 31, B. C. 71, and the next day entered upon the consulship.

§ 63. **auctoritate**, i. e. since they were then prominent members of the Senate. — **comprobatam**: i. e. the people, in electing Pompey consul, had only followed the example of the Senate in conferring these repeated honors. — **judicium**, *formal decision*, i. e. in the Gabinian law. — **improbari**, *disapproved*. — **delegatis**: this is not literally correct. The Gabinian law merely prescribed that an *ex-consul* should receive this command: the Senate selected the man. In fact, however, it was a law made for a particular man, and the Senate would not have ventured to appoint any other.

§ 64. **parum** (same root as *parvus*), *too little or ill*. — **sin**: the protasis extends to *attulistis*. — **auctoritati**, § 51, 2, *f*. — **Asiatico et regio**: the two adjectives enhance the impression of the difficulty of the war, by emphasizing its distance and the dignity of the enemy. — **pudore**, *respect for others*; **temperantia**, *self-restraint*.

§ 65. **jam**: i. e. it has now gone so far that, &c. — **requiruntur**, *are in demand*: pretexts of war are sought for, with cities that are hardly known of. — **inferatur**, *fastened*.

§ 66. **libenter**, etc., *I should be glad to argue this face to face*, &c. — **hostium simulatione**, *under the guise of enemies*: i. e. as if they were. — **animos ac spiritus**, *pride and insolence*. — **conlatis signis**, i. e. in actual warfare. — **nisi erit idem**, *unless he shall also be one*. — **animum**, *desires*. — **idoneus**, etc. (§ 65, 2, *f*), *fit to be sent*.

§ 67. **pacatam**: that is, hostilities have not ceased as long as there was any money to be extorted. — **prætores**, i. e. *pro-prætors*: for, after the time of Sulla, the prætors regularly remained at Rome during their term of office. The most notorious

case of such dishonesty was M. Antonius Creticus, son of the orator, and father of the triumvir. — **publica**, assigned to them for the support of their fleets and armies. — **jacturis, expenses**, in buying their places. — **condicionibus, bargains**, with creditors, &c. — **quasi non videamus** (§ 61, 1, R.), *as if we did not see*.

§ 68. **dubitare quin, hesitate**. The usual construction in this sense would be with the infin. The exception is allowed, because the subj. with **dubitare quin** makes a kind of indir. disc. Their thought, in direct disc., would be **credamus, shall we trust?** which remains unchanged except in person. — **auctoritatibus**, i. e. the opinion of influential men. — **est vobis auctor, you have as authority**.

Servilius Vatia Isauricus, one of the most reputable men of the time, cos. B. C. 79: he held the proconsulship of Cilicia, B. C. 78-75, in which time he gained great successes over the pirates, and obtained his *agnomen*, Isauricus, from the capture of Isaura, the mountain fortress of the Isaurians. It was probably his intimate knowledge of the region and the kind of warfare, that led him to support this vigorous measure.

**Curio**, see Verr. I. § 18. — **Lentulus**: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, cos. B. C. 72; not to be confounded with Lentulus Sura, cos. B. C. 71, the accomplice of Catiline. — **Cassius**: for the character of this family, see note on Verr. I. § 30.

§ 69. **de re ... facultate**: *the cause itself, or the power of carrying it through*. — **potestate prætoria, official influence as prætor**; more official than *auctoritas*. — **defero, put at your service**.

§ 70. **templo**: i. e. the *rostra*. The term *templum* was applied to any place consecrated by regular auspices (*augurato*). As the public assembly was held *augurato*, the place of holding it must be consecrated. — **ad remp. adeunt, are engaged in public affairs** (see § 42, 2, ad). — **neque quo, nor because** (§ 66, 1, d, R.). — **honoribus**, i. e. public office, which he proposes to earn, not by the arts of a demagogue, but by faithful professional labors, as a lawyer. — **pericula** relates to the *simultates* in the next section. It was not possible for him to espouse this democratic measure so earnestly, without incurring coolness at least on the part of the aristocracy. — **ut, so far as**.

§ 71. **ego**: expressed not as itself emphatic, but to give emphasis to the whole expression: *I give you my word, &c.* — **tantum ... abest ut videar, I am so far from seeming** (§ 70, 4, d). **hoc honore**, the prætorship. — **adfectum, privileged**. — **me oportere, I am bound** (me is obj. of *oportere*, of which the subj. is *præferre*, etc.).

## CATILINE I.

*Argument.*

CHAP. I. *Propositio*. Catiline's audacity in appearing in the Senate when his guilt is known. — 2. Weakness of the consuls, in allowing him to live. — 3, 4. Contrast, in the cases of Gracchus, Mælius, and Saturninus. — 4. The Senatorial decree is suspended in Catiline's case, till all shall be satisfied of his guilt. His plans enumerated. — *Hortatio*. 5. He is exhorted to go out and join his confederates. The plots against Cicero have been thwarted; but now they aim at the State. — 6, 7. Catiline has no inducement to remain where all good men hate and shrink from him. — 8. He has offered to go into custody: let him depart: the Senate shows by silence its approval of Cicero's words. — 9, 10. Though he insolently refuses to depart, yet his defeat as candidate for the consulship has made him from a conspirator into a public enemy. — *Peroratio*. 11. The State remonstrates against the consul's lenity. — 12. But it is a gain to force him into exile, and thus draw the conspiracy to a head. — 13. For his death would only palliate the evil. So let him go, taking with him the ruin of his plot, the hate of men, and the wrath of the gods.

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85. § 1. *etiam* (et jam), *still*. — *eludet*, *mock*. — *quem ad finem*, almost equivalent to *quamdiu*, but implying some shock or crisis which must follow. — *sese jactabit*, *insolently display itself*. — *Palati*, one of the strongest positions in the city, commanding the Forum, and so most likely to be seized by the conspirators.

The *Palatium*, an isolated hill, of a rudely quadrangular shape, was the original seat of the city of Rome, *Roma Quadrata*, from which it spread gradually over the other hills. In the last years of the republic, the Palatine became the fashionable place for residences. Here was Cicero's house as well as Catiline's. On the brow of the hill towards the Sacred Way stood the temple of Jupiter Stator, in which the Senate was now assembled. It was because of its nearness to his house, as well as because of the strength of its position, that the consul selected this temple for the meeting of the Senate on this occasion. In the Empire the Palatine became the seat of the imperial residence, and its name, *palace*, has passed in this sense into most modern languages.

*bonorum*, see § 21. — *locus*: the regular place of meeting for the Senate was the *Curia Hostilia*; on special occasions it met in other places, but always in a consecrated place (*templum*; see note on Manil. Law, § 70). — *horum* (with a gesture), the senators present. — *ora*, *features*; *vultus*, *expression* (a sort of *hendiadys*). — *constrictam teneri*, *is held fast bound*. — *proxima, superiore*: for what was done on the night of Nov. 6, see § 4; as to *proxima, last night*, we do not meet with anything but general assertions.

§ 2. *O tempora*, etc., *what a time! what a state of things!* — *immo, nay more*: *immo* here negatives only the *form* of the preceding, as not strong enough. — *consilii, counsels*. — *vitemus*, subj. of indir. disc. — *ad mortem*: the consuls originally possessed full powers of judgment in criminal cases, including punishment by death. These highest powers of the *imperium* were suspended

within the city by laws which gave the right of appeal to the people (see note on § 28), but the Senate could revive it in cases of danger by the formula *Videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*,—a proceeding analogous to the proclamation of martial law. This action the Senate had taken Oct. 21, nearly three weeks before.—*oportebat*, implied cond. (§ 60, 2, *c*): the imperf. is used with *jam pridem*, where we might expect the pluperf. (compare § 58, 2, *a*).

§ 3. *an vero, while, &c.*, belongs both to *interfecit* and *perferemus*, introducing (as usual) a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*.—*vir amplissimus, pontifex maximus*: observe how these words strengthen the force of the example.

P. Scipio Nasica Serapio was leader of the mob of gentlemen that murdered Tiberius Gracchus, B. C. 133. He held the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, president of the board (*collegium*) of *Pontifices*, which had the general superintendence of the State religion. Since in all ancient states the political constitution was based on the State religion, the *pontifices* exercised great political power. They were the earliest jurists; and the office of their head, the *pontifex maximus*, was, in Rome, on the whole the first position in dignity and influence. He was appointed by the Board from their own number. But, in the last two centuries of the republic, it was established that the person to be so appointed should be designated by popular election. This was confined to the minority (seventeen) of the thirty-five tribes, designated by lot. An absolute choice by the people was regarded as inadmissible in religious offices.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a young man of high rank and great personal purity of character, attempted to carry through some important reforms, particularly touching the tenure of the public lands, B. C. 133. Requiring more time to make his legislation effective, he attempted illegally to secure his own re-election as Tribune; when he was attacked and killed by a mob of senators headed by Scipio Nasica. The mother of Gracchus was a daughter of the great Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal.

*privatus*: Nasica at this time was only a private citizen of consular rank. He afterwards went into exile, and was made Pontifex Maximus in his absence. The word *privatus* is opposed to *nos consules*, and the contrast is rhetorically exaggerated.—*illa, that case*, plural for singular, as frequently in Greek.—*Abala*, the *magister equitum* of the famous Cincinnatus: he killed without law the *eques* Mælius, on suspicion of his aiming at a dangerous power by his lavish gifts of corn (B. C. 439).

§ 6. *novis rebus* (the classic expression for a violent change of government), *revolution*.—*senatus consultum*: i. e. *ut videant consules*, etc. The *consultum* of the Senate was its ordinance, regularly passed and promulgated, and recognized as valid. If it was invalid by reason of informality or intercession of a tribune, it was called *senatus auctoritas*, and might still be drawn up in form, and would still have a certain modified authority.—*vehemens, severe*, as regards Catiline; *grave, carrying weight*, as regards the consuls.—*rei publicæ* (dat. with *deest*): we know well enough what to do—we have authority enough: it is the execution that is remiss.

§ 4. *decrevit* (emphatic), *there was once a decree, &c.* This



word is used (as well as *oenseo, placet*) to express the intent of the Senate; the *consultum, ordinance*, or any separate article of it, might, as regarded its purport, be called *decretum*.

Lucius Opimius was consul B. C. 121, when Caius Gracchus, the younger brother of Tiberius, was attempting to carry through a series of measures far more revolutionary than those of his brother. The Senate, the champion of the existing order of things, took alarm, and intrusted the consul with absolute power. In the tumult that ensued, some 3,000 were said to have lost their lives, including Gracchus and his leading associate Fulvius.

The father of the Gracchi was Tiberius Gracchus, one of the most eminent statesmen of his day, distinguished for integrity and humanity, as well as ability and culture. Their mother was Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. Ancestors on both sides were distinguished in the Second Punic War, and the brothers were likewise connected by kinship and marriage with many of the noblest families of Rome.

The case of Marius was in B. C. 100, the year of his sixth consulship. He was secretly in league with the revolutionists, — Saturninus and Servilius Glaucia, corrupt demagogues, unworthy imitators of the noble Gracchi. When it came to the point, however, the courage of Marius failed him: he deserted his accomplices, and joined the Senate in crushing the revolt.

*rei publicæ*, poss. gen., the punishment being looked on as something belonging to the party avenged, and taken from the other party. — *remorata est*, governing *Saturninum*, etc.: the punishment is oddly regarded as *waiting for them*. — *vicesimum*: strictly speaking, it was now the 19th day from Oct. 21. — *horum*, the senators. — *hujusce modi*, i. e. like those others. — *tabulis*, brazen tablets, on which the laws, &c., were inscribed. The edict is said to be *shut up* in them (until put in force), *like a sword hid in its scabbard*. — *interfectum esse* (§ 58, 11, *d*). But, after all, it would have been hardly possible, even with the extraordinary power granted to the consuls, to put the conspirator to death without some overt act. — *cupio*, *I am anxious* (emphatic): a concession, opposed by *sed*, below. — *dissolutum*, *hasty*, as having one's actions out of the control of law, reason, &c. — *ipse*: Latin in such cases emphasizes the subject, English the object. — *nequitia*, *worthlessness*.

§ 5. *faucibus*, *narrow pass*, leading north from Etruria. — *conlocata*, § 72, 2, *d*. — *jam*, *at once*. — *erit verendum*, etc. This difficult sentence is best rendered by connecting *non* and *potius* with *verendum*: *I shall not have more reason to fear*; and by remembering that *credo* is, in this parenthetical use, ironical. The sense is, *of course I shall be accused of cruelty rather than slackness*. — *boni* (sc. *dicant*): here, as usual, *the well-intentioned*, i. e. those who held the speaker's views. — *ego*, opposed to *omnes boni*.

§ 7. *denique*, i. e. then, and not before. — *jam*, *at length*. — *fateatur*, § 65, 2.

§ 6. *etiam*, *besides* the forces on guard. — *speculabuntur*, referring to the spies in the interest of the government, who were in the very heart of the conspiracy. Of these the chief was Fulvia,

mistress of one of the conspirators. — *quid*, etc., *what is there for you to wait for more?* — *nox*, *privata domus*: the time and place of meeting. — *inlustrantur* refers to *tenebris*; *erumpunt* to *parietibus*. — *recognoscas*, *review* (§ 70, 3, *f*, *R*.).

§ 7. *dicere*, § 58, 11, *b*. — *fore* (subj *C. Manlius*): the *rising in arms* is put first, as being the main thing; the person is less important. — *num*, etc., *was I mistaken in*, &c. — *idem* has the force of *also*. — *optimatum*, i. e. of the senatorial party. — *in ante diem*, § 56, 1, *f*. — *sui conservandi* (§ 73, 3, *a*): this passage is neatly turned, to save their self-respect by showing that discretion was the better part of valor. — *cum dicebas*, equivalent to *saying* (compare § 72, 1, *c*). — *discessu*, loc. abl. — *tamen*, opposed to *discessu*: though the rest were gone.

§ 8. *Præneste* (*Palestrina*), an important town of Latium, about twenty miles from Rome, in a very commanding situation. Its possession would have given Catiline an important military post. It was a chief stronghold of the Marian party in the civil war. — *sensistine*, *did you not find?* The negative meaning occasionally found in this enclitic is probably its original one: — *coloniam*: *Præneste* proudly declined the Roman franchise, and retained its nominal independence until the time of the Social War. Sulla established a military colony there by way of punishment. — *præsidis*, *the garrison* manning the walls; *custodis*, *sentinels* at the gates; *vigiliis*, *night-guard*. — *agis*, etc.: notice the climax.

§ 8. *noctem superiorem*, *night before last*, i. e. Nov. 6: *priore* (below) refers to the same. — *jam*, *you will at once see*. — *quam te*, § 67, 1, *b*, *R*. — *inter falcarios*, i. e. the street of the scythemakers. — *non agam obscure*, i. e. I will speak plainly.

§ 9. *gentium*, § 50, 2, *d*. — *quam rem publicam*, *what sort of a state?* — *hic*, *hic*, *here*, *right here*. — *sanctissimo*, *venerable*. — *omnium*, § 47, 5, *b*. — *atque adeo*, *and in fact*. — *oportebat*, see § 2. — *igitur* (resumptive), *as I said*. — *quemque*, *each* of the conspirators. — *placeret*, for indic.; *relinqueres*, for delib. subj. (both in indir. disc.). — *equites*: these were *C. Cornelius* and *L. Vargunteius*.

§ 10. *id temporis* (§ 50, 2, *c*), *at that very time*. — *desiderant*, *have been wanting* (§ 58, 2, *a*). — *si minus* (sc. *omnes*), *if not*.

§ 9. § 11. *atque*, *and particularly*. — *huic*, i. e. in whose temple we are sitting. — *Stator* (*sto*), the one who causes to *stand firm*. The temple to Jupiter Stator was vowed by Romulus when his troops were giving way, and built upon the spot where their flight was stayed. (See note, § 1). — *in uno*, etc., *risked upon one man* (i. e. Cicero: compare Thucyd. ii. 35). — *proximis*: the consular election was usually held in July; but this year, on account of the disturbed condition of things, did not take place until Oct. 28, when

when all prosecutions would be dropped. — *id enim, for that is what you demand.* — *placere* has for subj., *te . . . exsilium.* — *abhorret, is contrary to:* because the Senate had no power to pronounce such a judgment. — *tacitorum, i. e. their silence gives consent to my words.*

**93.** § 21. *Sestio* : whom Cicero afterwards defended in one of his greatest orations (see p. 147). — *M. Marcello* : a prominent member of the aristocracy, consul, B. C. 51 ; not to be confounded with the person of the same name mentioned § 19. He took a leading part in the civil war against Cæsar, and was afterwards defended by Cicero (see p. 210). — *consuli, though consul.* — *jure optimo, with perfect right.* — *vim et manus, violent hands.* — *videlicet cara*, alluding to his demand to have the matter submitted to the Senate. — *quorum, § 48, 3, b, R.* — *hæc* (with a gesture), all that is round us, the city, &c. — *prosequantur, escort.* It was the custom for those who were going into voluntary exile to be thus accompanied to the gate by their friends. If Catiline would depart, the whole Senate would forget his crimes and pay him this honor (perhaps ironical).

§ 22. *te frangat, i. e. break down your stubbornness.* — *duint, § 30, 6, e<sup>2</sup>.* — *tametsi* (corrective), *although.* — *tempus, moment.* — *est tanti, it is worth the price (§ 54, 8, a).*

§ 23. *inimico, a private enemy*, thus attributing to Cicero personal and private motives of opposition. — *si vis, if you choose.* — *recta* (sc. *via*), *straightway.* — *latrocinio, partisan warfare*, as opposed to regular war (*justum bellum*).

**94.** § 24. *quamquam, and yet* (corrective, cf. *tametsi, § 22*). — *Forum Aurelium*, a small place on the *Via Aurelia*, about fifty miles from Rome. The *Via Aurelia* was the road which led along the sea-coast of Etruria, by which Catiline left the city the following night. The word *Forum, market-place*, was used for the highest class of inferior towns (market towns) within the territory of a colony or *municipium*. — *aquilam* : the silver eagle had been adopted by Marius as the standard of the legion, and the eagle in question was said to have been actually used in the army of Marius. The place in the camp where the eagle was kept was in fact consecrated : hence the word *sacrarium*. — *ut possis, exclam. clause with ut, § 70, 4, c.* — *necem, slaughter, or death by violence.*

§ 25. *hæc res, i. e. exile.* — *non modo, to say nothing of.* — *atque* connects *perditis* and *derelictis* ; *ab* connects *fortuna* and *spe* to *derelictis*. — *conflatam, got together* (like molten metal).

§ 26. *bacchabere, will revel.* — *studium, taste for.* — *meditati sunt, have been practised* ; *feruntur, are talked about.* — *facinus, deed of violence*, contrasted with *stuprum, debauchery* ; just as *bonis otiosorum, property of peaceful citizens*, is with *somno*

**maritorum**, the repose of husbands. — **ubi ostentes**, an opportunity to display. — **confectum**, shattered.

§ 27. **reppuli**: the consul who presided over the election had it in his power to exercise great influence. That of Cicero on this occasion was perfectly legitimate, in maintaining order and checking Catiline's adherents. — **exsul, consul**: observe the play upon words. — **latrocinium**: rebellion is regularly described by words which ally it with disorder or highway robbery; as, **tumultus**.

§ 25. **querimoniam**, i. e. for not having suppressed the conspiracy more vigorously. — **detester ac deprecet** (construed with a **me**, above), remove by protest and plea. — **animis mentibusque**, hearts and minds. — **evocatorem servorum**, a summoner of slaves, i. e. to enlist under him. — **mactari**, § 70, 3, a.

§ 28. **at, but** (it may be said): introducing an objection. — **rogatæ sunt**: the magistrate who proposed a law formally asked the people whether they would accept it; hence **rogo** was the word regularly used for this act, and the proposition itself was called **rogatio**. The *leges* in question, *Valeria, Porcia*, and *Semproniana* (of Caius Gracchus), protecting the life and liberty of citizens, had been not merely asked (**rogatæ**), but passed (**jussæ**); not merely proposed (**latæ**), but carried (**perlatae**). The word **rogatæ** appears to be used here to emphasize the part which the people had in their establishment. — **præclaram . . . gratiam**, you show a noble gratitude. — **tam mature**: Cicero says of himself that he was the only *novus homo* [*nulla commendatione majorum*] on record, who both sought and gained the consulship the first year the law permitted it. He was equally fortunate in the quæstorship and prætorship.

§ 29. **inertiæ**, sc. **invidia**, the reproach. — **an** belongs with **non existimas**. — **conflagraturum**, will burn up, suggested by **ardebunt**. — **idem sentiunt**, have the same views. — **mentibus**, thoughts. — **superiorum**, before them.

§ 26. **maxime**, ever so much. — **partam** (from *pario*), acquired (a very common meaning). — **putarem**, the real apodosis: the regularity of the sentence being broken by **ful**, etc.

§ 30. **videant**, subj. of charact. — **aluerunt**, indic. of fact. — **regie, despotically**: the Roman idea of king and kingly government was associated with Tarquinius Superbus. Here the word also implies the assumption of unlawful power (= *tyrannice*), as well as its abuse. — **eodem**, to the same place. — **adulta**, full-grown, as opposed to **stirps**, the stock, and **semen**, the seed.

§ 31. **jam diu**: the conspiracy was ready to break out B. C. 65 (see note on § 15). — **versamur**, have lived. — **nescio quo pacto**,

somehow (§ 67, 2, *e*).—*visceribus, vitals* (properly the great interior organs, as the heart, lungs, &c.).

**97. circumstare, hang around:** the *prætor urbanus* had his tribunal on the Forum—*consensionem, unanimity*.

§ 33. *ominibus, prospects.*—*Juppiter, i. e. the temple.*—*arcebis, a mild imperative (§ 57, 7, *d*).*

## CATILINE II.

### Argument.

CHAP. *Pars I.* 1. Catiline is gone: the city breathes again: it is open war now, and no longer a concealed intestine conflict.—2. Excuse for letting him go: all were not convinced. Now, his guilt is manifest.—3. His force is not formidable: what remains is closely watched.—4. All have been forced to declare themselves. Joy at his departure: he has been a leader in every vice and crime.—*Pars II.* 5. His associates are desperate but contemptible: character of this domestic war.—6. Odium of his banishment deprecated: in fact, he went to his own.—7. He will not go into exile, but to the camp of Manlius, and will seek to cast odium on the consul.—*Pars III.* 8–10. The real fear is from those who remain, viz.: (*a*) Rich but embarrassed profligates; (*b*) Poor debtors: the two classes have nothing to gain from violence; (*c*) Sulla's veterans, who will not be allowed to repeat those times; (*d*) Ruined men, hoping for any change; (*e*) Criminals who had better be fought in the field; (*f*) Profligates and debauchees, men of Catiline's own stamp.—11. Superiority of the patriot forces arrayed against them.—*Peroratio.* 12. Review of the situation: warning to the ill-disposed.—13. The work shall be done without shock to the public order: the gods will lend their help.

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**98. § 1. ejecimus, expelled** (with violence); **emisimus, sent forth.** The words *vel...vel* imply that the same act may be called by either name.—*ipsum, of his own accord.*—*verbis prosecuti* may apply as well to kind words of dismissal as to invective.—*abiit, simply, is gone*; *excessit, has retreated* before the storm; *evasit, has escaped* by stealth; *erupit, has broken forth* with violence,—a climax of expression, but nearly identical in sense.—*atque* (adding with emphasis), *and so.*—*hunc quidem, him at any rate.*—*sine controversia, without dispute= unquestionably.*—*versabitur, will be busy.*—*campo, foro, parietes,* observe the narrowing climax.—*loco motus est,* a gladiatorial expression: *he has lost his vantage-ground.*—*nullo, etc., i. e. his defenders till now could screen him by forms of law.*—*justum, regular, in due form.*

§ 2. *oruentum* (pred.), *reeking with blood.*—*vivis nobis, leaving us alive.*—*civis, acc. plur.*—*jacet, etc., lies prostrate.*—*retorquet oculos* begins the figure of a wild beast, which is continued in *faucibus*.

§ 3. *omnis*, acc. plur. — *oportebat*, § 60, 2, *c.* — *in hoc ipso*, *in this very point*. — *qui . . . accuset*, *as to accuse* (§ 65, 2). — *hujus imperi*, see note on Cat. I. § 12. — *res publica*, *the public interest*.

99. § 4. *cum viderem*, *seeing*: its obj. is *fore ut . . . possetis* (§ 58, 11, *f.*). — *vobis*, construed with *probata*; *ne . . . quidem*, i. e. much less the people at large. — *videretis*, § 66, 2. — *quod . . . exierit*, § 70, 5, but subj. on account of the implied indir. disc. — *eduxisset*, § 68, 1. — *mihi*, eth. dat. (§ 51, 7, *d.*) — *in prætexta*: the *toga prætexta*, with a broad purple border, was worn by boys as well as magistrates: this means, therefore, that Tongilius was still a boy. — *æs alienum*, etc., i. e. petty debts run up in cookshops and the like; not like the heavy mortgages spoken of afterwards. — *quos viros*: for a characterization of these, see the next division of this oration.

§ 5. *præ*, *in comparison with*. — *Gallicanis*, i. e. those stationed in Gaul, — Cisalpine Gaul, the northern part of Italy. The *ager Gallicus* below was that strip of sea-coast, north of Picenum, formerly occupied by the Senones, but at this time reckoned a part of Umbria. — *hoc*, *the present*. — *Q Metellus* (Celer): see note on Cat. I. § 19. — *luxuria* (Synecdoche), *high-livers*. — *vadimonia deserere*, *cut bail*: i. e. leave their bondsmen in the lurch. — *edictum prætoris*, in effect like a *sheriff's warrant*. (A proclamation was published by each new prætor, "in which he declared the manner in which he intended to administer his department." Maine). — *concident*, *collapse*. — *purpura*: the Roman *toga* was of unbleached wool: it was a mark of effeminacy and foppishness for any men but magistrates to wear colors in public. — *mallem*, § 57, 4, *c.* — *eduxisset*, § 70, 3, *f.* R. — *si . . . permanent*, a fut. cond. — *pertimescendos*, i. e. he will keep an eye on them.

100. § 6. *superioris noctis*, i. e. two nights before the last. — *ne*, *nay*: an affirmative particle, wrongly spelt *næ*. — *nisi vero*, ironical (as usual), introducing a *reductio ad absurdum*. — *Aurelia via*, see Cat. I. § 24.

— § 7 *sentinam*, *refuse* (see Cat. I. § 12). — *ejecerit*, § 59, 4, *c.* — *exhausto*, *drained off* (as *sentina*). — *recreata*, *invigorated*. — *conceperit*, § 65, 2. — *tota Italia*, § 55, 3, *f.* — *subjector*, *forgery*. — *circumscriptor*, *swindler*. — *perditus*, *scoundrel*.

§ 8. *ullo*, § 21, 2, *h.* — *serviebat*, *pandered*.

101. § 9. *diversa studia*. In another passage (Cæl. 13) Cicero ascribes to Catiline: "*Cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter, cum facinorosis audaciter, cum libidinosi luxuriose vivere.*" — *in dissimili ratione*, *in different directions*. — *possitis*, § 64, 1, *b.* — *ludo*, the regular training-school. — *scæna*, i. e. among the actors of the

baser sort. — *tamen*, i. e. in contrast to the usual effeminacy of these profligates. — *exercitatione*, abl. of means: *trained by the practice of debaucheries and crimes to endure*, &c. — *frigore* . . . *perferendis*, abl. with *adsuefactus*. — *fortis*, an able fellow. — *istis*, his hangers-on. — *subsidia*, etc., i. e. means which might be, &c.

§ 10. *audaciæ*, acts of audacity. — *obligaverunt*, encumbered. — *res* . . . *fides*, property . . . credit. — *quidem* (concessive), no doubt. — *mihi*, eth. dat.

§ 11. *instare plane*, is close at hand. — *nescio quod*, § 67, 2, c. — *unius*: Pompey, of course, now returning from his triumphs in the East.

**102.** *resecanda erunt*, shall need pruning.

§ 12. *etiam*, still (after all that has been done). — *enim*, i. e. the idea is absurd, as implied in the irony that follows. — *quid*, what of this, that it was really the act of the Senate that drove him out: *ut* is here nearly equivalent to *quod*. — *hesterno die* qualifies *convocavi*.

§ 13. *in proximam*: Cicero certainly said nothing definite as to the night of Nov. 7, although he wishes to make it appear that he had. — *ei*, dat. of agent (§ 51, 4) — *teneretur*, was caught. — *pararet*, for plup. (see Cat. I. § 2, end). — *securis, fascis*: the use of these signified that Catiline intended to assume the authority and *imperium* of consul. — *aquilam*: see Cat. I. § 24.

§ 14. *ei ciebam*, conative imperf. (§ 58, 3, c).

**103.** *suo nomine*, i. e. not by Catiline's order. — *nunc*, even now. — *Massiliam*: Marseilles, an ancient Greek city of Gaul. always faithful and friendly to Rome. It was a favorite place of sojourn for Romans who went into voluntary exile. — *condicionem*, terms. — *pertimuerit*, take alarm. — *erunt qui . . . velint*, § 65, 2, a.

§ 15. *est tanti*, it is worth the price. — *sane* (concessive), for all me. — *aliquando*, one day. — *illum emisericim . . . ejecerim*: let him go . . . drove him out. — *si interfectus*, etc.: adroitly excusing his lenity to those who would have wished harsher measures.

§ 16. *quamquam* (corrective), and yet. — *nemo*, not a man. — *misericors*: his going to Manlius was his inevitable ruin, and yet, for all their pity, they desired this. — *latrocinantem*, in partisan warfare.

**104.** § 17. *sibi*, for their own good. — *placare*, gain over. — *ex quibus generibus*: "a similar picture," says Long, "may be drawn of any great city." — *comparentur*, are made up.

§ 18. *est eorum*, consists of those (§ 50, 1, c). — *dissolvi*, sc. a possessionibus: although they might pay their debts, they will not make up their minds to do so. — *honestissima*, very respectable.

— *argento, plate.* — *sis*, § 58, 6. — *tabulas novas, new accounts*, i. e. a sweeping alteration of debts, such as that, B. C. 86, "which reduced every private claim to the fourth part of its nominal amount, and cancelled three-fourths in favor of the debtors" (Momm.). — *auktionariæ*: a forced sale would give them new accounts. — *certare cum usuris* (§ 54, 6, b), *struggle to meet the interest.* — *fructibus* is abl. of means. — *uteremur, we should find them.* — *vota facturi, likely to offer prayers.*

**105.** § 19. *quamquam premuntur*: a man must be rich in Rome to be active in politics. — *scilicet, in fact.* — *praesentis* agrees with *deos*. — *jam, at once.* — *non vident, don't they see?* (§ 71, 1, R.). — *fugitivo*, i. e. (probably) one of their own slaves.

§ 20. *ex eis coloniis*: Sulla rewarded his veterans (120,000 in number) by grants of land, partly in *municipia* already existing, partly by founding new colonies. Those here referred to may have belonged to either class. — *universas, as a whole.* — *ei sunt coloni, there are* (among them) *colonists of this sort.* — *beati, wealthy.* — *lectis, choice.* — *apparatis, splendid.* — *Sulla, etc., they must raise Sulla from the dead*: they can have no such hope in Catiline. — *illorum temporum*, i. e. the times of proscription. — *inustus, branded.*

**106.** § 21. *sane, rather.* — *vacillant, stagger under.* — *vadimonis*, etc., the three steps in bankruptcy, — *bail, judgement, and sale of property*; *proscriptio* is properly the public notice that property is for sale. — *infitiatores, swindlers.* — *stare, keeping their feet.*

§ 22. *carcer, the Tullianum*, a dungeon near the Forum, now existing. It was properly a jail, for temporary detention, as imprisonment was not recognized in Rome as a form of punishment. — *numero, in order*; *genere, rank.* — *imberbis*, a mark of effeminacy; *bene barbatus*, a practice regarded by respectable Romans as foppish; *talaribus*, down to the heel; *vells, veils*, rather than the substantial *toga*, which was of unbleached wool.

§ 23 *saltare et cantare*: these accomplishments were hardly regarded as respectable in the better classes. — *spargere*, i. e. in food or drink: poisoning has in all ages been carried to high art in Italy.

**107.** *his noctibus*: although this was spoken Nov. 9, yet the Roman year was at this time in such a state of confusion, that the true time was probably some time in December, just when the winter was setting in.

§ 24. *cohortem prætoriam, body-guard.* — *debilitatam, broken down.* — *urbes coloniarum*, etc.: the colonies and *municipia* included their walled cities, *urbes*, in their territory. These well-



manned walls would be more than a match for Catiline's rude works. — *ornamenta, outfit or equipment* of all sorts.

§ 25. *ex eo ipso*, from the very comparison. — *jaceant, lie helpless*. — *bona ratio, good counsel*; *perdita, desperate*.

108. § 26. *custodiis vigiliisque*: see note, Cat. I. § 8. — *consultum, etc.*, *provident measures have been taken*. — *coloni municipesque*: see note on *municipes*, R. A. § 5. A colony differed from a *municipium* in being founded by Roman (or Latin) citizens, who retained from the first their citizenship, either in whole or in part. At the time of Cicero all practical difference between the two classes of towns had been done away; but the colonies always retained a certain precedence in rank. — *vocari videtis*: the members of the Senate had their gathering place (*senaculum*) adjoining the *curia*, and were summoned by heralds (*pracones*) from this into the building. If any were absent, the heralds were sent to their houses. The *curia* and *senaculum* could be seen from the place of assembly on the Forum, and the heralds were no doubt noticed going their rounds.

§ 27. *monitos volo*, § 72, 3, c. — *etiam atque etiam, again and again*. — *solutior, too remiss*. — *quod, etc.*, *as for the rest*. — *horum* and *his* relate to the conspirators, Lentulus, Cethegus, &c.

§ 28. *togato*: as the toga was only the garb of peace, this word means *in peace*, or *as a statesman*, instead of a warrior.

109. *manifestæ, overt*. — *illud, in appos. with ut ... positis*: *I will secure that you shall all be safe*.

§ 29. *quam urbem ... hanc, this city which* (§ 48, 3, b).

### CATILINE III.

#### *Argument.*

CHAP. *Exordium*. 1. The citizens are congratulated on their safety. — *Narratio*. 2, 3. The conspirators' plans have been watched: the Gallic embassy seized with letters; which, with the treasonable leaders, are brought before the Senate. — 4. Testimony of Volturcius and the Gauls. — 5. Forced confession of Cethegus, Lentulus, and Gabinius. — 6. The Senate decrees the custody of the traitors and a general thanksgiving. — 7. Now all is safe: Catiline alone was to be feared, and only while in the city. — 8, 9. The Divine aid manifest in sundry omens; chiefly in the madness of the traitors in confiding their counsels to the Gauls. — *Peroratio*. 10. Exhortation to keep the thanksgiving: this bloodless victory compared with others more costly. — 11. Cicero claims no reward but a grateful remembrance. — 12. But he is less fortunate than victors in foreign war, since the conquered are still citizens. The State shall be his reward and defence.

§ 1. *vitam, lives*: the plur. could not be used in Latin (§ 14, 1, a). — *bona, estates* (landed property); *fortunas, goods* (personal property).

**110.** § 2. *salutis, preservation.* — *illum* : Romulus, who, after his death, was considered to be a god, and identified with the Sabine god of war, Quirinus. — *eorum*, i. e. the swords.

§ 3. *per me, by my means* (§ 54, 4, b). — *vobis*, opposed to in *Senatu*. — *expectatis*, are waiting to hear. — *ut, since.* — *cum reliquisset, having left.* — *elciebam*, notice the difference in tense between this word and *erupit*. — *illa*, sc. *invidia*. — *exterminari (terminus)*, put out of the boundaries. — *restitissent*, in dir. disc. *restiterint* (fut. perf.).

**111.** § 4. *oratio, argument; fidem faceret, gain credence.* — *ut... comprehenderem, that I might get hold of the matter.* — *Allobrogum*. The Allobroges were a Gallic nation, between the Rhone and the Alps (in the modern *Dauphiné* and *Savoy*); subdued B. C. 121, and united with the province *Narbonensis*. They were restless under their new masters (see § 22), and inclined to take up with Catiline's movement. Their ambassadors had come to complain of certain exactions of their provincial governor. — *belli*, i. e. when out of the range of the Roman jurisdiction; *tumultus*, *rebellion*, i. e. when nearer home. — *Lentulo*, see *Intro.*: he was consul B. C. 71, but was expelled from the Senate the next year, with sixty-three others, on account of his character, and now held the prætorship with the view of beginning the course of honors over again. — *litteris*, a letter. — *manifesto deprehendetur, taken in the act*: the words apply strictly to the criminals themselves.

§ 5. *prætores*. Although the regular duties of the prætors were judicial, yet they possessed the *imperium*, and in virtue of this could command troops in the absence of the consuls, or under their authority. — *amans rei publicæ, patriotic.* — *qui sentirent, as men who, &c.* — *pontem Mulvium*, the bridge over the Tiber, about two miles above the city, by which the principal roads (the Flaminian and Cassian) led into north Italy. — *villis, country houses.* — *inter eos*, i. e. between the two divisions. — *præfectura*: this was the title given to a class of towns which, after losing their political independence (see note R. A. § 5) had justice administered by a prefect, appointed by the Roman *prætor urbanus*, as his representative. (Momm. Röm. St. i. p. 185.) They were, therefore, as a class wholly deprived of self-government; but after the Social War (B. C. 90-89), in which citizenship was bestowed upon all the Italians, the *præfectura* became *municipia*, only sometimes retaining their old familiar appellation, as in this case. — *Reatina*: Reate was a very ancient town of the Sabines, about forty miles north-east of Rome. Cicero was the *patronus* (see note R. A. § 4) of Reate; that is, acted as its attorney and legal counsel: which accounts for his having this body-guard of young men from that

place. Besides, these simple mountaineers still retained something of the old Italian virtues, and therefore were well fitted for this service.

§ 6. *tertia vigilia*: the night, from sunset to sunrise, was divided into four equal *watches*; this time, therefore, was about 3, A. M.—*res*, the occasion of the attack.—*ignorabatur*, etc. Though the Allobroges had played the conspirators false, and knew that the consul had his plans ready, they did not know what these plans were, and therefore were as much taken by surprise as Volturcius himself. Even the troops would appear not to have known what special enterprise they were engaged in.

112. *ipsi, the men* (as opposed to the letters).—*machinatorum*: Gabinius had been the go-between in this case; he and Statilius had had it in charge to burn the city (Sall. Cat. 43, 44).—*dum, as yet*.—*præter*, etc., since Lentulus was notoriously lazy.

§ 7. *cum viris*, dat. after *placeret*, which has for subject *litteras* . . . *deferrem* (see § 66, 2).—*esse facturum* governs the clause *ut . . . deferrem*: it may be rendered: *I said I would not fail to lay before the public council a matter touching the public danger before it had been tampered with (integram)*.—*et enim si, for even if*.—*frequentem, full*.

§ 8. *admonitu, suggestion*.—*introduxi, sc. in Senatum*.—*fidem publicam, assurance of safety*: he was to be used as State's evidence.—*vix* = at length with difficulty.—*servorum*: in the memory of the terrible servile insurrections in Sicily, and especially that of Spartacus in Italy, less than ten years before, this would shock and terrify his hearers beyond measure.—*ut . . . uteretur* (§ 70, 3, a), obj. of the verb implied in *mandata*, etc.—*erat*, § 67, 1, b.

113. § 9. *equitatum*. The Roman cavalry was chiefly composed of Gallic and other auxiliaries (see note on the Equestrian Order, Verr. I. § 1).—*defuturas* (§ 67, 1), dep. on the verb implied in *præscriptum*.—*sibi (copias)* refers to the conspirators; *sibi (confirmasse)* to the Allobroges.—*fatis Sibyllinis*, the books bought by Tarquinius Superbus of the Cumæan Sibyl. They were kept in charge of a board, *collegium*, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and consulted in cases of great public emergency. They appear to have been the source of the introduction of Grecian rites and forms of worship in Rome (Marquardt, Röm. Alt. iv. p. 51).—*haruspicum*. The *haruspices* were Etruscan soothsayers, who interpreted the will of the gods, chiefly from the entrails of animals sacrificed. They were a private class, and were not to be confounded with the augurs, who were a board of Roman noblemen, of high rank, who interpreted the auspices according to the native Roman rules.—*Cinnam*, etc.: L. Cornelius Cinna was colleague

of Marius, and ruled Rome after his death, B. C. 86. L. Cornelius Sulla ruled Rome B. C. 82-79 (see § 23). — *fatalem, destined.* — *virginum*: the Vestal Virgins, six in number, maidens of high rank, consecrated to chastity and the service of Vesta. They were peculiarly sacred, and were highly privileged. Violation of their vow of chastity was *incestus*, and was regarded as a *prodigium* of very bad omen. Of the incident referred to here nothing further is known. — *Capitol*: the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (see note, Verr. IV. § 15) was burned during the rule of the Marian faction, B. C. 83.

§ 10. *Saturnalibus*: a very ancient festival, in honor of Saturnus, the god of seed-sowing, celebrated Dec. 19. During this festival every serious business was suspended; and it was so complete a holiday that slaves feasted at the same tables with their masters. No better opportunity could be found for the outbreak of an insurrection than this season of unrestrained jollification. — *tabellas, tablets* of wood: wax was spread on the inside, and on this the writing was scratched with a *stilus*. When used for letters, the tablets were tied about with a linen thread, *linum*, and sealed. — *ipsius manu*: the ambassadors had made sure to get all the conspirators committed in writing except Cassius, who alone had the sagacity to keep out of it. — *senatui*: the Gallic tribes were governed by an aristocracy, having a council or senate as its mouth-piece. — *sese, etc.*: in dir. disc., *faciam quæ vestris legatis confirmavi.* — *sibi receperant*, had taken upon themselves. — *tamen*: i. e. notwithstanding the staggering evidence against him. — *semper . . . fuisse*, had always been a fancier of good cutlery. — *est vero, etc.*, i. e. you may well recognize it: it is, &c. — *avi tui*: Cornelius Lentulus, cos. B. C. 162. He was *princeps senatus*, that is, designated by the censors as first man of the Senate: an honorary office, held ordinarily by patricians (Momm. i. p. 92). It was from this dignity that the emperors derived one of their chief titles, *princeps*, — that by which they were known in civil administration, as by that of *imperator* in regard to foreign politics and war. — *debut* (§ 58, 11, a, R.), ought to have recalled. (The joining of such opposites as *muta* and *revocaro* is called *oxymoron*, or *paradox*.)

§ 11. *eadem ratione* = *in eandem sententiam, to the same purport.* — *si . . . vellet*, subj. of indir. disc. (*si vis*).

§ 14. *per quam* (§ 54, 4, b), i. e. who had conducted them.

§ 12. *quis sim, etc.* This letter is given with slight variations by Sallust. — *jam, still.* — *infimorum*, i. e. slaves; see note, § 8.

§ 13. *furtim, stealthily* ("like thieves"). — *indicare, inform against.* — *a principibus, the leading men*: the voting was in the order of dignity (see note, Cat. IV. § 1). — *sententiæ*: the views of individual senators. — *perscriptum*: the vote in the Senate

merely determined the substance of the ordinance, which was afterwards written out in regular form by the secretaries, under the direction of the presiding officer.

§ 14. *verbis amplissimis*, in the most ample terms. — *gratiæ aguntur*, thanks are rendered.

115. *conlegæ*, C. Antonius : see Introd. Cat. I. — *rei publicæ consilia*, the public counsels : i. e. his own as consul. — *se abdicasset* : Lentulus could not properly be called to account during his magistracy, and was therefore compelled to abdicate (see below). — *L. Cassium*, etc. : these last mentioned had not yet been arrested, but Ceparius was caught in his flight and brought back. — *pastores* : Apulia was, as now, used chiefly for pasturage. In the summer, when these broad plains were dried up, the flocks were driven to the mountain pastures of Samnium and Lucania. These pastoral regions have always been the home of a lawless and restless population, prone to brigandage.

§ 15. *supplicatio*, a day of prayer, proclaimed by the Senate, either in thanksgiving, *gratulatio*, as in the present case, or in entreating favor of the gods. Another class, *obsecratio*, was directed by the Sibylline books (see note, § 9), in order to ward off some impending calamity. — *eorum*, i. e. the gods. — *meo nomine* (a mercantile phrase), on my account. — *togato*, as a civilian : the toga was the regular dress of the Roman in time of peace ; none other was authorized to wear it, and the Roman was required to wear it when acting in a civil capacity. — *liberassem* : in the decree, *liberavit*. — *bene gesta* agrees with *re publica*. — *jus*, rights. — *tamen* : he was allowed to resign instead of being put to death without (as in the case below). — *religio*, religious scruple.

116. *quo minus occideret*, to prevent his killing, following *religio* (§ 55, I, a). — C. Glauciam, see note Cat. I. § 4. — *nominationem* : i. e. the authority was conferred in general terms, by the formula *Videant*, etc. — *privato*, as a private citizen.

§ 16. *pellebam*, was attempting, etc. : see Cat. I., *passim*. — *tam diu*, so long only. — *consilium*, ability to plan. — *jam habebat*, already had in hand : he had reduced conspiracy to a science.

§ 17. *hunc ego* : two pronouns are often put together thus for antithesis. — *callidum*, experienced. — *depulissem*, pushed aside : the image is of averting a crushing weight (*molem*), just ready to fall. — *non ille*, etc. : i. e. as Cethegus did. — *tanto ante* : this praise of Catiline's sagacity is hardly consistent with his successive schemes of conspiracy, repeatedly foiled for now three years (see Cat. I. § 15). — *rei publicæ*, dat. after *denuntiavisset*. — *testes*, in appos. with both *signum* and *litteræ*. — *manifesti*, flagrant.

117. *hostis* (predic. appos.), as an enemy.

§ 18. *quod . . . potuisse* (parenthetical), *because, &c.* — *consilium* limits *gubernatio* in the predicate : *to belong to human wisdom*; *tum* (below) answers to *cum*. — *faeces*, etc. : these omens are such as the Romans observed and noted carefully. Livy's history is full of them. — *prætermittendum*, inadvertently; *relinquendum*, intentionally.

§ 19. *Cotta et Torquato*, consuls B. C. 65, the year in which Catiline's conspiracy was first intended to break out. — *æra* : the laws were engraved on bronze tables. Some of these are still extant. — *illa . . . Romulus* : it is disputed whether this was the bronze statue of the wolf suckling the infants, which is now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, and which bears marks either of lightning seaming one of its hind legs, or of some defect in the casting. Mommsen (Vol. I. p. 608) holds it to be the same. — *flexissent* : in dir. disc. *flexerint*, following *appropinquare*, which has a future sense.

§ 20. *illorum*, the *haruspices*. — *idem* (plur.), *they also*.

118. *contra atque*, *opposite to what* (§ 43, 3, a). — *solis . . . conspiceret* : this is one of the most conclusive passages in support of the view that the Capitolium, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was on the south-western point of the hill. A statue here, facing east, would also face (*conspiceret*) the forum and *comitium*, which would not be the case with one upon the north-eastern point. — *conlocandum locaverunt* : the regular expression for giving out a contract (§ 72, 5, c). — *illi*, of year before last. — *consulibus* and *nobis*, abl. abs. expressing the date (§ 84, 1).

§ 21. *præceps*, *headstrong*; *mente captus*, *insane*. — *hæc omnia*, i. e. the universe. — *rei publicæ* (dat.), *against the State*. — *in ædem Concordiæ* : one of the principal temples at the northern end of the Forum, where the Senate had held its session on this day. It was built by the consul L. Opimius, B. C. 121, after his bloody victory over C. Gracchus. One would almost think it a piece of satire.

§ 22. *quo* : abl. of means (§ 54, 6, e). — *si dicam*, *if I should say* (§ 59, 4, b). — *illa* : the words in brackets are a manifest gloss.

119. *gens* relates here to the Gauls as a whole, not to the Allobroges in particular. — *ultro*, *voluntarily*. — *patriciis* : the patricians were the original citizens of Rome; and the plebeians, *the mass*, were their clients or dependants, foreign residents, and emancipated slaves. When the plebeians, after a contest of more than a hundred years, obtained an equality of political rights, the original patrician families still continued to be an hereditary aristocracy, with no political privileges, but with the exclusive right to certain positions of mere honor and dignity, such as the *princeps*

*senatus* (see note, § 10) and certain priestly offices. All patri-  
cians were of course members of the new nobility. Of the con-  
spirators, Catiline, Lentulus, and Cethegus were patricians.

§ 23. *pulvinaria*, *shrines*: properly *cushions*, upon which the  
statues of the gods were laid, when a feast was spread before  
them. This was called *lectisternium*, and was usually connected  
with the *supplicatio* (see note, § 15). Only certain gods, chiefly  
Grecian, had *pulvinaria*, and the rite was established by direction  
of the Sibylline books (see note, § 9). — *illos dies*: the *supplicatio*  
lasted several days.

§ 24. **P. Sulpicius** (Rufum), a young man of remarkable elo-  
quence, a leader in the reforming party among the aristocracy, one  
of the speakers in Cicero's *De Oratore*. He was tribune B. C. 88,  
and his quarrel with C. Cæsar was the first act of the Civil War.  
By his proposition, the command in the Mithridatic War was trans-  
ferred from Sulla to Marius; and when Sulla refused to obey, and  
marched upon the city, Sulpicius was one of the first victims. —  
**conlegam**: Lucius Cornelius Cinna (see note, § 9). They were  
consuls B. C. 87, after the departure of Sulla for the East, and  
in their dissensions the civil war broke out afresh. The victory of  
Cinna recalled Marius from exile. — **lumina**: among these were  
Octavius; C. Cæsar (see above), and his brother Lucius; Q.  
Catulus, father of the opponent of the Manilian Law (see below);  
M. Antonius, the great orator; and the *pontifex maximus*, Q.  
Scævola (see note, Verr. V. § 19). — **ultus est**: to preserve the  
emphasis, render, *the cruelty, &c., was avenged by Sulla* (see note,  
R. A. § 6). — **M. Lepidus**, father of the triumvir, was consul B. C.  
78 (after Sulla's death), with Q. Catulus, son of the one murdered  
by Cinna. The scheme of Lepidus to revive the Marian party  
resulted in a short civil war, in which he was defeated by his col-  
league and killed.

**120.** § 25. *commutandam rem publicam*, *a change of gov-*  
*ernment*. — *quale bellum*, *a war such as*. — *tantum*, *so much*  
*only*.

§ 26. *mutum*, *dumb*: such as a statue, for example. — *eandem*  
*diem*, etc., *the same period of time—eternal as I hope—is ex-*  
*tended at once to the safety of the city, &c.*

**121.** § 27. *nihil noceri potest*, *no harm can be done*.

§ 28. *in honore vestro* *honor* is used here, as usual, to de-  
note external honors (offices) conferred by the people. Holding the  
consulship, he had nothing higher to look forward to.

## CATILINE IV.

*Argument.*

CHAP. *Exordium*. 1. The question of the traitors' doom must be settled without regard to Cicero's interest or his household; his act is its own reward — *Propositio*. 2, 3. Desperate nature of the conspirators' guilt: it is manifest already by clear proof, and condemned already by the action of the Senate. — 4. The two opinions: that of Silenus, for death; of Cæsar, for perpetual imprisonment. — 5. The latter will be least invidious to Cicero: its extreme severity. — *Contentio*. 6. But in either there can be no cruelty: severity to them is mercy to the people. What if the conspiracy had succeeded! The city to be given over to plunder and conflagration. — 7. The general excitement and alarm. The guilty are to be regarded no longer as citizens, but as public enemies. — 7, 8. All classes of citizens — even freedmen and slaves — desire the safety of the city. — 9. Responsibility resting on the Senate: the Consul will not fail them. — *Peroratio*. 10. He cares nothing for himself: his fame is sure. The war he has taken up is without end; but the harmony of the State shall be unbroken. — 11. Let them remember his political sacrifices; but vote only for the welfare and safety of the State.

As this is the first deliberative oration, delivered in the Senate, contained in this collection, it will be well to describe the course of a senatorial debate.

The Senate could be called together by any magistrate possessing the civil *imperium* (regularly the consul), also by the Tribunes of the People: the magistrate who summoned it also presided, and laid before it (*referre*) the business for which it was summoned. He might at this point give his own judgment. Then he proceeded to ask (*rogare*) the Senators individually their opinions (*sententia*). The order was to ask in turn the *consulares*, *prætorii*, *adilicii*, and *quæstorii*; that is, those who sat in the Senate in virtue of having held these offices respectively. If the annual election had already taken place, which was usually in July, — six months before the new magistrates assumed their offices, — the magistrates elect, *designati*, were called upon before their several classes. The *principes Senatus* (see note, Cat. III. § 10) was called upon first of all, when there were no *consules designati*. The presiding officer had it indeed in his power to vary the order, and honor or slight any senator by calling upon him *extra ordinem*.

The business was as a rule laid before the Senate in general terms, not in any special form for action: each senator could, as he chose, give his judgment in full, by argument (*sententiam dicere*), or simply express his assent to the judgment of another (*verbo assentiri*). Only those who held seats by virtue of having held magistracies were entitled to do this; the others, who were enrolled by the Censors to fill up the number, were called *pedarii*, and had no right to speak, but only to vote (*pedibus ire in sententiam*). The vote was taken by going on one side or other of the house (*discessio*). When a majority had decided in favor of any *sententia*, it was written out in proper form by the secretaries (*scribæ*), under the direction of the president, in the presence of some of its principal supporters (*adesse scribundo*), and promulgated.

In the present case, what should be done with the captured conspirators, — the consul elect, D. Junius Silenus, had advised that they be put to death; and C. Julius Cæsar, as prætor elect, that they be kept in custody. At the end of the discussion, the presiding consul gave his views in this speech.

§ 1. *si hæc*, i. e. if the consulship has been given me on these terms.

123. § 2. *æquitas*: the prætor, who administered justice between citizens, had his tribunal upon the Forum. — *campus*:



the *comitia centuriata*, in which the higher magistrates were elected (see note, Verr. I. § 18), were held in the *Campus Martius*, north of the city, just outside the walls, — the level space in which the modern city is chiefly situated. — *auspiciis*, ablative : as it was only through the auspices that the Campus was consecrated.

The Roman commonwealth was regarded as resting directly upon the will of the gods, expressed in signs sent by them, *auspicia*. The magistrates alone were authorized to consult the auspices (*spectio*), which was done by special formalities ; and the auspices, when observed, were interpreted by a special board (*collegium*) of priests called Augurs. All important public acts were done *auspicato*, that is, under authority of the auspices ; the right of interpreting these was therefore a source of great political influence to the board of augurs, which was composed of men of the highest rank and distinction. Cicero himself became a member of this board ten years after his consulship. The rules of interpretation were developed into a special science called *jus augurium*. Most public acts must be performed *auspicato*, that is, after consulting the auspices ; especially all public assemblies in which business was transacted. Thus the Campus was "consecrated by auspices" every time that the *comitia centuriata* were held. The enclosure upon the Campus, called *sæpta* or *ovile*, in which the assembly met, was like the *Curia*, or Senate-house, and the *rostra*, or speaker's stand, specially set apart and consecrated as a *templum*, (see note, Manil. § 70).

*auxilium* : the Roman Senate was at this time a great court of appeal for subject or friendly nations. — *sella curulis*, the seat used by the *curule magistrates*, — king, interrex, dictator, magister equitum, consul, prætor, censor, and curule ædile. It was like a modern camp-stool without back or sides, with crossed legs of ivory, so that it could be folded up and carried with the magistrate wherever he went. — *foedissima*, *horrible*, with the added idea of polluting things sacred. — *fatale*, see note, Cat. III. § 9.

§ 3. *pro eo ac mereor*, in proportion as I deserve. — *relaturos gratiam*, will reward ("return favor"). — *immatura* : because a consular had reached the highest point of Roman ambition. — *misera* : the philosophy of the ancients professed to make them despise death (see Plato, *Apol.*, and *Tusc. i.*). — *ille ferreus qui*, so iron-hearted as. — *fratris* : his brother Quintus, younger than he, and at this time prætor elect. He served with credit in Cæsar's Gallic campaigns. — *neque . . . non*, nor can it be but that, &c. — *uxor*, etc. : his wife Terentia ; his daughter Tullia (daughters took the gentile name of the father, see § 15), married to C. Calpurnius Piso ; his son Marcus, now two years old. — *amplecti*, take in its arms.

124. *gener* : Piso was not yet a member of the Senate, and was probably standing in the lobby. — *moveor* (emphatic), I am affected. — *uti sint*, [to wish] that, &c. (the verb being implied in *moveor*).

§ 4. *incumbite*, bend your energies, a figure taken from rowing. — *circumspicite*, watch for. — *Gracchus*, etc., see notes, Cat. I. §§ 3, 4 — *illa consulis*, I will say in advance what belongs to [me as] the consul : i. e. declare the need of instant action ; what ac-

tion, it is for the Senate to determine. — **Memmius** : C. Memmius, one of the most upright men of his time, and a candidate for the consulship against Glaucia, was murdered by instigation of Glaucia and Saturninus (B. C. 100). This led to the separation of Marius from these demagogues, and, on their forcible resistance, they were put to death. — **tenentur**, *are in custody*. — **signa**, *seals* ; **manus**, *handwriting* (see Cat. III.).

§ 5. **judicia** : their acts (here recounted) were their verdict on the conspirators' guilt.

§ 6. **sed** : i. e. though you have in fact decided. — **tamquam integrum**, *as if you had not already expressed your judgment*. — **judicetis**, **censeatis** : respecting the facts, they acted as a Court ; respecting the punishment, as a State Council.

**125.** **jam pridem videbam**, *had long seen* (§ 58, 3, b). — **adfinis**, *implicated*. — **provincias**, especially Spain, with which Cn. Piso had had relations. It had not yet become fully reconciled since the overthrow of Sertorius, only eight years before. — **sustentando**, *forbearance* ; **prolatando**, *procrastination*.

§ 7. **hæc** (with a gesture), *all this*, i. e. city, citizens, and government. — **amplectitur**, *adopts*. — **versatur in**, *exhibits*. — **punctum temporis**, *for a moment*. — **mortem**, etc., the Epicurean doctrine, espoused by Cæsar. — **municipiis dispartiri**, sc. **eos in custodiam**. — **iniquitatem**, *unfairness*, as it might expose them to danger ; **difficultatem**, *embarrassment*, since they might decline the service.

§ 8. **adjungit**, *he* (Cæsar) *adds* to his proposal.

**126.** **sancit**, *ordains* under penalties. — **per senatum**, by an executive decree ; **per populum**, by law. — **uno**, sc. **dolore**. — **itaque**, etc., an artful way of making the punishment of death seem less cruel : since death is a relief, these myths had been invented to give it terror. — **videlicet**, *no doubt*.

§ 9. **mea**, § 50, 4, d. — **hanc . . . viam**, *this course in politics* (Cæsar's well-known course). — **popularis**, not *popular*, but *devoted to the people, democratic* : Cæsar was now the recognized leader of the party. — **auctore** (abl. abs.), *proposer* ; **cognitore**, *sponsor* (a legal term). — **nescio an**, *I don't know but*. — **impetus**, *violence*. — **negoti**, *trouble*. — **rationes**, *consideration*. — **majorum** : none of Cæsar's ancestors were men of any distinction, although some distant relations of the same name were prominent in public affairs in the time of Sulla (see note, Cat. III. § 24). It was, however, one of the oldest patrician families. — **obsidem** : he is pledged at all events to defend the State as against the conspirators. — **levitatem**, *recklessness*. — **contionatorum**, *demagogues*. — **saluti**, i. e. not **voluntati** : their interests, not their capricious wishes.

§ 10. **non neminem**, *one or another*.

Here Cicero turns from Cæsar, a genuine democrat, to some self-seeking demagogue, whom he does not name. No doubt all his hearers knew what he meant; and we are told that it was Q. Metellus Nepos, brother of Celer (see Cat. I. § 19), a fugleman of Pompey and enemy of Cicero. He was tribune the next year—entering upon his office upon the Ides, Dec. 13—and when Cicero, on New Year's day, on laying down his office, was about to address the people, Nepos forbade it, "declaring it unfit that the murderer of Roman citizens should address an assembly of free men. Amidst the uproar which this act excited, Cicero could only exclaim, with a solemn adjuration, *that he had served the State*, and the general acclamations of the people overwhelmed every opposing whisper" (Merivale).

**de capite** : this was properly only in the power of the *comitia centuriata*.—**is**, *this person*.—**dedit, decrevit, adfecit** : gave his vote for these acts.—**qui** has for antecedent the subject of **judicavit**.—**re**, *the matter* (in general); **causa**, *the issue* to be decided.—**C. Cæsar** : the full name gives emphasis; *he* does not hesitate to pass a judgment upon them, equally affecting the *caput*—i. e. not only the life, but the civil existence—which was protected by the Sempronian law.—**Semproniam**, see note, Verr. VI. 6.

**127. ipsum latorem**, C. Gracchus : he was put to death not *jussu populi*, but in virtue of the dictatorial authority intrusted to the consuls by the Senate. But a violation of the law in his case did not excuse another on the part of Cicero.—**largitorem**, etc. : i. e. *however lavish*,—a symptom of courting the popular favor.—**etiam, still**.—**se jactare**, *show himself off* (as a friend of liberty).

§ 11. **obtimebo**, *make it appear that it* (this opinion).—**ita . . . liceat ut, so may I enjoy, etc., as I am** [in fact] *moved by no malignity*.

§ 12. **cum vero** : here **vero** introduces (as often) the most striking point. The others are bad enough, *but when, &c.*—**purpuratum, a courtier** : **huic**, § 51, 7.—**Vestaliū**, see note, Cat. III. § 7.

**128. si quis, in case any**.—**universum, common**, i. e. belonging to all. The city, as the seat of empire, is contrasted with each man's private domicile.—**id egerunt, have aimed at this**.

§ 13. **nisi vero, etc., unless, indeed, any one thought** (a *reductio ad absurdum*, as usual with this phrase).

L. Cæsar (cos. b. c. 64) was a distant relative of the dictator, son of Lucius Cæsar (consul b. c. 92, the year of the Social War), the author of the law giving citizenship to the Italian allies (see note, Arch. § 7). The sister of Lucius Cæsar (the younger) was married to Lentulus, and his mother, Fulvia, was daughter of M. Fulvius Flaccus, the leading adherent of C. Gracchus. When Gracchus and Flaccus found themselves (b. c. 121) drawn into a collision with the Senate, they sent the young son of Flaccus with a proposition of compromise. The Senate, however, refused to listen to any terms, threw the messenger in prison—where he was afterwards strangled—and moved upon the insurgents with all the power of the State. In the contest that followed, both leaders, and several thousands of their partisans, lost their lives. It was to these events that L. Cæsar appealed, in justifying his vote in condemnation of his brother-in-law Lentulus.

**nudius tertius, day before yesterday**.—**legatum** : of course the informal messenger of insurgents could have no claim to the title

*ambassador*, or to the privileges which attached to the title, in ancient as well as modern times. — *quorum limits factum*: understand with *simile* some word describing the present conspiracy. — *largitionis . . . versata est*, a disposition for lavish grants then prevailed in the public policy, leading to violent class-jealousy.

The plans of C. Gracchus embraced not only a *lex frumentaria*, allowing every citizen to buy a certain amount of corn from the State at less than half its market rate, and a *lex agraria*, providing for the distribution of public land among the poorer citizens; but also the establishment of several colonies, both in Italy and the provinces, the object of which was at once to provide poor citizens with land, and relieve the city, by emigration, of a part of its proletariat. Of these last the only ones actually established were Junonia, on the site of Carthage, and — after the death of Gracchus — Narbo, Narbonne, in Gaul.

*avus* (see note, Cat. III. § 10): he was an active supporter of the Senate on this occasion. — *urbem inflammādam*: according to Sallust, ch. 43, this work was assigned to Gabinius and Statilius. — *censeo*, ironical (like *credo*).

**129.** § 15. *consentunt*, show their agreement. — *ita ut* = *only to*; lit., with this limitation that. — *summam ordinis consilique*, superiority in rank, and precedence in counsel. — *hujus ordinis* (i. e. the Senate) limits *dissensione* in the sense of *cum hoc*, etc. The long contest here alluded to (see note, Verr. I. § 1) was at last compromised by the Aurelian Law (see note, Verr. I. § 47). — *quam si*, etc., and if we keep this union. — *confirmo*, I assure. — *tribunos ærarios*, deans of the tribes. The Roman people were divided into thirty-five tribes, strictly local and territorial, like wards, but with the provision that the sons of citizens belonged to the tribe of their father, rather than to that in which they themselves resided. These tribes were made the basis of the *comitia centuriata*, as well as the *comitia tributa*. The *tribuni ærarii* consisted of those who had been their presiding officers. — *scribas*: the *scriba quæstorii* (treasury clerks) formed an important and powerful corporation. As they were a permanent body, while the *quæstors* (treasurers) were elected annually, they had the real responsibility in the management of the treasury (see Momm. Röm. St. i. p. 272). — *universos*, the whole body.

**130.** *sortis*: the *quæstors* entered upon office on the Nones of December (Dec. 5); all other patrician magistrates on Jan. 1. The *scriba* had therefore come together in order to be present while the *quæstors* drew lots for their provinces (note, Verr. I. § 11).

§ 16. *ingenuorum*, free-born. Freedmen, *libertini*, were always regarded as inferior in rank, if not in civil and political rights. Even these, however, are shown in the next chapter to be interested in the safety of the republic. — *operæ pretium est*, it is worth while. — *sua virtute*: manumission was very commonly practised among the Romans, as the reward of some peculiar merit in the slave. — *hic nati*: i. e. opposed to the slaves, who were, as

a rule — at least city slaves — not born in slavery, but brought from foreign countries. — *quantum . . . voluntatis*, *whatever good will he dare and can.*

§ 17. *tabernas*, i. e. the handicraftsmen. — *quidem* (concessive), *to be sure.* — *otiosum*, *peaceful.* — *instrumentum*, *stock in trade.* — *quæstus*, *profits.* — *quorum* relates to *eorum*, four lines above. — *incensis*, sc. *tabernis.* — *futurum fuit* = *fuisset* (§ 59, 3, *f*).

**131.** § 18. *præsidia*, *supports.* — *obsessa*, *beset.* — *arcem et Capitolium*: the Capitoline was a saddle-shaped hill, having the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on one elevation, the old citadel, *arx*, on the other. Which was which is a point of great dispute, but one of the arguments will be found in note Cat. III. § 20, for the view which appears best supported — that the *Capitolium* proper, the height which contained the Capitoline temple, was the south-westerly one. The difficulty arises in part from the fact that the word *Capitolium* is used in three different senses — for the temple, the whole hill, and that part of the hill containing the temple. — *aræ Penatium*: the Penates were the gods of the household (from *penus*), worshipped by every *paterfamilias* in his own *atrium*. The State, being developed from the family, had likewise its Penates, which were fabled to have been brought by Æneas from Troy, and established at Lavinium, whence they were transferred to Alba Longa, and afterwards to Rome. Their temple was on the Velia, the low hill connecting the Palatine and Esquiline. — *ignem Vestæ*: the temple of Vesta (*ædes*, not *templum*, not having been consecrated by the augurs) was on the *Sacra Via*, towards the Palatine, — a small round building. Adjoining it was the *regia*, the residence of the Vestal Virgins and the Pontifex Maximus.

§ 19. *in civili causa*, *in a political question.* — *quantis . . . delerit*: this clause will be best turned into English by translating the participles, *fundatum*, etc., as verbs, and *delerit* as a relative clause, — *with how great toil this empire WAS established, WHICH one night, &c.*

**132.** § 20. *gesta*, abl. abs. with *re publica*.

§ 21. *Scipio*: the elder Africanus, who brought the Second Punic War to a triumphant close by the battle of Zama, B. C. 202. By "carrying the war into Africa," he forced Hannibal to retire from Italy. — *alter Africanus*: the younger, surnamed Æmilianus. He was son of L. Æmilius Paulus (mentioned below), and adopted by the son of the elder Africanus. He captured Carthage B. C. 146, and Numantia, in Spain, B. C. 133. — *Paulus*: father of the younger Africanus, and, like his son, the most eminent and upright man of his generation. He brought the Third Macedonian War to a close by the battle of Pydna, B. C. 168, and led King

Perseus captive in his triumphal procession. — *currum*, sc. *triumphalem* : the captives did not go with or behind the triumphal chariot, but preceded it in the procession. — *bis liberavit* : by the victories over the German invaders, — over the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ (B. C. 102), and the Cimbri at Campi Raudii (B. C. 101). — *Pompeius* : it should be remembered that Pompey was now in the East, in the midst of his career of conquest, and that his return was looked for with expectancy by all parties. Cicero took every means to win the confidence of the great general, and gain him over to his views in public affairs; but to no purpose. After some wavering, he associated himself with Cæsar, thus giving the Senate a blow from which it never recovered, and preparing the way for his own downfall.

**133.** § 23. *pro imperio, in place of* : i. e. all these would be gained by a foreign command. — *neglexi*, i. e. by turning it over to his colleague Antonius (see *Introd. Cat. I.*). — *triumpho* : by thus surrendering his province, he renounced all thought of gaining a triumph, the highest honor to which a Roman could aspire. — *clientellis hospitisque* : the relation of *cliens* to *patronus* was that of a subordinate to a superior, carrying with it services on the one side and protection on the other; the *hospites* were, on the other hand, equals, and their connection was one of mutual aid and friendship. Foreign states and citizens were eager to form such ties with influential Romans, and they were equally advantageous to the Roman. Of course a provincial governor had peculiar opportunities for this. — *urbanis opibus*, *the means afforded by a city life*. Such ties would be formed by a sojourn in the province; but their value to the provincial consisted in the opportunities for protection and assistance which a Roman statesman possessed in the city. — *pro meis studiis, in reward of my efforts*. — *satis præsidii*, in appos. with the clause *si . . . memineritis* (§ 70, 5, R.).

§ 24. *per se ipsum præstare, guarantee [so far as he may] on his own part*.

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## ORATION FOR ARCHIAS.

### *Argument.*

CHAP. I. *Exordium*. Claim of Archias to Cicero's services, both from personal reasons and as a man of letters. — 2. Apology for the unusual character of his plea — *Narratio*. 3. Early career of Archias; he is enrolled as a citizen of Heraclia. — *Confirmatio*. 4. His technical claim: his registry, acts of citizenship, domicile. — 5. Argument from the public records. 6. The case is now closed. But there are other reasons why, as a man of letters, he should be admitted. The great service of these pursuits to the statesman. — 7. Testimony of famous men in the past. — 8, 9. All men recognize the

poet's claims: examples. — 10. Greek is a surer passport to fame than Latin. Men inferior to Archias have been thus honored. — 11, 12. Fame is the strongest motive to acts of public virtue. — *Peroratio*. 13. Appeal to the court: summary of Archias's claim.

## PAGE

**134.** § 1. *hujusce rei, i. e. dicendi*. — *ratio, theoretic acquaintance*, contrasted with *exercoitatio, practice*. — *A. Iacinius*: following the custom of naturalized foreigners, as well as freedmen, Archias had taken the gentile name of his noble friends and patrons, the Luculli. Cicero's motive in always speaking of him by his Roman name is obvious. — *inde usque, from as far back as that*. — *principem, master*. — *a quo* relates to *huic*, which is dat. after *ferre*; *quo* relates to *id*: *surely, to the man himself, from whom we have received that whereby, &c.* — *ceteris, every body else*, whom he could assist: *alios, those few others* whom he could save.

**135.** § 2. *a nobis, by me*, construed with *dici*. — *neque, and not*. — *ne nos quidem, nor I either*.

§ 3. *questione legitima, a court established by law* (i. e. the *Lex Papia*, see *Introd.*). — *publico*, as distinguished from private cases. — *severissimos*: this old Roman severity was not likely to be conciliated by Cicero's praises of literature. — *forensi sermone* is not used here in its restricted meaning, *suited to the courts*, but, as political speeches were also delivered on the Forum, it means rather *public speaking*. — *abhorreat, differs widely*. — *hoo prætor*: Q. Cicero was himself a poet and man of critical taste. — *loqui and uti* have *me* understood as subj.

§ 4. *Antiochia*: Antioch was the largest and most important of the cities of the Roman Empire in Asia. It was founded by Seleucus Nicator, first king of Syria, about B. C. 300. — *contigit, sc. ei, i. e. Archias*. — *urbe*, see § 46, 2, *b.* — *post, afterwards*.

**136.** § 5. *tunc, at that time*. This was the long period of comparative quiet between the Gracchan disturbances (B. C. 133-121) and the tribunate of Drusus (B. C. 91, see note, § 9), followed by the Social War and the civil wars of Marius and Sulla. — *Latio*: not the geographical Latium merely, but including all towns which at that time possessed Latin citizenship; that is, the Latin colonies, such as Venusia, the birth-place of the poet Horace.

Colonies sent out by Rome were of two classes: 1. *Roman colonies*, in which a small garrison of soldiers (usually 300 in number) was established as a governing aristocracy. The native population was held by them in a harsh subjection. 2. *Latin colonies*, in which the colonists, whether native Romans or not, formed a quasi-independent community. They were usually quite numerous, went with their families, and did not possess Roman citizenship; but, on the other hand, the right of coining money and other rights of sovereignty. These Latin colonies, together with the original Latins, formed the *nomen Latinum*, and stood towards Rome in the relation of *civitates federatæ*. Therefore Roman citizens who went into exile could sojourn in these towns as if they formed no part of Italy. This was called *jus exsilii*.

**Tarentini et Regini** : see note, Verr. VI. § 21. — **Neapolitani** : Neapolis, *Naples*, was a Greek city, founded by Cumæ, but not as an independent *civitas*, therefore merely called the new-town (of Cumæ). — **absentibus**, *people at a distance*. — **Mario et Catulo** (coss. B. C. 102) : of these, Marius was renowned for his exploits, while Catulus was a good officer, and also a man of culture. He was father of the Catulus who opposed the passage of the Manilian Law. — **Luculli** : Lucius, the one who fought against Mithridates, and his brother Marcus : both of them belonged to the highest ranks of the aristocracy, and were men of distinguished taste and culture. — **prætextatus** : Roman boys wore the *toga prætexta*, i. e. with a broad purple stripe, which was also worn by magistrates. On entering upon manhood, at about the age of sixteen, the *prætexta* was laid aside, and the *toga virilis*, a plain robe of unbleached wool, was assumed. The shape of the toga was that of an elongated semicircle. — **sic etiam hoc** : the sentence is incomplete. Read, *This quality of genius [was so marked], that, &c.*

§ 6. **Metello Numidico** : the most distinguished member of this family (see note, Verr. I. § 21), cousin of Balearicus (see R. A., § 50). He was predecessor of Marius in the war against Jugurtha, and from this received his *agnomen*. — **Æmilio**, sc. **Scauro** : see note, Verr. I. § 52. — **Catulo** : see note, § 5. — **L. Crasso** : the most distinguished orator of his time, a man of genius and culture (see note, Verr. V. § 19) : he died B. C. 91. — **Drusum** (M. Livius), tribune, B. C. 91, in which year he attempted to carry through a series of moderate reforms, in which he was aided by Crassus and other eminent men. He met with the most bitter opposition, especially from L. Philippus (see Manil. § 62), and was at last assassinated. — **Octavio** : see Cat. III. § 23. — **Catonem** : probably father of the famous Cato of Utica. — **Hortensiorum** : the orator Hortensius was distinguished for the elegance of his taste and the luxuriousness of his life. — **cum M. Lucullo** : probably on some private business, as Lucullus was at this time not much over twenty years old. — **Heraoliam**, an important Greek city, on the southern coast of Lucania. In the war with Pyrrhus it espoused the side of the Romans, and entered (B. C. 278) into an alliance of the closest and most favorable character (*æquissimo jure ac fœdere*).

**137. § 7. Silvani**, etc. : the *Lex Plautia-Papiria* of B. C. 89.

The most thoughtful Romans had long been of the conviction that it was necessary to extend the citizenship to the Italian allies, and thus include these vigorous and sound communities within the Roman system. C. Gracchus first proposed reforms in this direction, and they were the most important part of the scheme of Drusus (B. C. 91), who for this purpose entered into close political relations with leading Italians. When his death destroyed all hope of peaceful reform, the Italians had recourse to arms, in the Social or Italian War (B. C. 90-89); and, although they were unsuccessful in the field, the objects that were aimed at were gained. The *Lex Julia*, of L. Cæsar (cos. B. C. 90), bestowed the citizenship upon all who had remained faithful (including all the Latins, see note, § 5);



and the *Lex Plantia-Papiria*, of the tribunes M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo (not to be confounded with his inamorous cousin Cnæus, the Marian leader after the death of Cinna), extended it to other Italian communities. These towns now exchanged their independence for Roman citizenship, and became incorporated with the Roman republic. Many of them, therefore, as Heraclea, hesitated about making the change, and did it with great reluctance. They lost all rights of independent government (such as that of coining money, the *ius exsilii*, etc.). Latin became the official language; justice was administered by Roman law; and in most cases their government was organized on the model of Rome, having *duumviri* for consuls, and a *curia* for the Senate. The passage here given from the *Plautian-Papirian law* contains its application to citizens of foreign birth, like Archias.

*ferrebat, was proposed.* It was not left possible for any aliens to take advantage of the law by obtaining Italian citizenship for this purpose. — *domicilium*: *domicile*, or permanent residence. — *essent professi*, *declared their intention.* — *Q. Metellum*, sc. *Pium*, prætor B. C. 89: the most eminent member of this family, and one of the leaders of the aristocracy.

§ 8. *tabulas*, *archives.* The *tabularium*, as at Rome, was the building where the archives were kept. — *municipi*: since the bestowal of the Roman citizenship, the Italian *civitates* had become Roman *municipia* (see note, R. A. § 5).

§ 9. *civitatem datam*: i. e. by the law before cited. — *conlegio*: since the prætors were elected as a body, their special functions being determined by lot, they may be regarded as a *collegium*, or "board," in those few cases in which they are regarded as a whole, and their special and individual powers do not come into consideration (Momm. Rom. St. i. p. 63). In this case it would seem that the names might be entered with any one of the prætors. — *Appi* (Claudi — the name Appius was confined to the Claudian *gens*), husband of Cæcilia, the friend of Roscius (see note, R. A. § 50), and father of the infamous Clodius. Claudius and Gabinius alone are mentioned as colleagues of Metellus, probably because the provinces of all the other prætors carried them away from Italy; for, before the time of Sulla, when it was made their duty to remain in the city during their term of office, and govern provinces only as *pro-prætors* (see note, Verr. I. § 12), it was the custom for all but the *prætor urbanus* and *peregrinus* to administer a province during their year of office, as *prætors*. — *L. Lentulum*: nothing further is known of him; he probably presided over a court (*judices*) to determine cases involving citizenship under the new law.

134. § 10. *multis* and *præditis* are dat. after *impertiebant*; *arte*, abl. after *præditis*. — *Græcia*, i. e. Græcia Magna, the Greek cities of Italy. — *Locrensis*: Locri Epizephyrii, a Greek city near Regium. — *quod* relates to *id*, which is governed by *largiri* understood; *huic*, Archias. — *civitatem datam*, i. e. by the *Lex Plantia-Papiria*; *legem Papiam*, see Introd. — *illis*, sc. *tabulis*, i. e. of Tarentum, Regium, and Neapolis.

× § 11. **Census**: the list of citizens made out by the censors.

The Censors were two in number, elected from men of consular dignity, originally at a minimum interval of four years (Uomm. Röm. Chron. p. 164), afterwards once in five years,—the interval called a *lustrum*,—and holding office for eighteen months. They ranked as *magistratus maiores*, but did not possess the *imperium*, and had no power to convene either the Senate or an assembly of the people. Their functions were—1, to inspect the registry of citizens of every class and order (see note, § 28); 2, to punish immorality, by removal from the Senate, the equestrian centuries, or the Tribe (see note, Verr. I. § 18), *nota censoria*, *infamia*, *ignominia*; 3, the general superintendence of the finances (giving out contracts for collecting the revenues, see note, Verr. I. § 13), and of the public works. In the intervals of the censorship, these last were under the care of the *ædiles* (see note, Verr. I. § 36). Sulla tacitly abolished the office of censor, but it was revived in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, B. C. 70 (see note, Verr. I. § 54). The censors between the passage of the *Lex Plautia-Papiria* and the case of Archias were:—

B. C. 89. Lucius Cæsar and Publius Crassus.

B. C. 86. Q. Marcius Philippus and M. Perperna.

B. C. 70. Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus Lentulus.

B. C. 65, the elected censors, Catulus and Crassus, could come to no agreement, and abdicated. They are therefore not mentioned here.

**apud exercitum**, in the war against Mithridates: see oration for Manilian Law.—**in Asia**: this was in the first Mithridatic war, in which Lucullus served as *quæstor* to Sulla.—**quoniam**, etc.: i. e. even in the census lists there might be fraudulent names.—**esse versatum**, had availed himself of.—**testamentum**, etc., acts which no foreigner could do.—**in beneficiis**, etc.: his name was reported for a gratuity, i. e. on the ground of some special merit.

§ 12. **suppeditat**, he supplies. Its obj. is the clause *ubi . . . con- quiescant*.—**suppetere** has for subj. the clause *quod . . . rerum*.—**contentionem**, strain.

**139. ad communem fructum**, to the general advantage.—**nullius tempore**, the needs of no one; i. e. as a client.

§ 13. **ceteris** follows *conceditur*; **temporum** limits *quantum*, which relates to *tantum*.—**ceteris, alii**: i. e. everybody spends time on his own business or recreation; some on dissipation and gaming.—**tempestivis convivis**, early dinners, i. e. beginning by daylight, or in business hours,—a mark of luxury and idleness.—**quæ**, i. e. the ability to speak; **illa**, the *præcepta*, mentioned below.

§ 14. **honestatem**, honor.—**parvi**, of slight account.—**acce- derent**, were brought to them.—**imagines**, portraits.

**140. § 16. Africanum**, Scipio the younger (*Æmilianus*): C. Lælius was his most intimate friend, a man of fine culture. L. Furius Philo was also a great friend of literature. M. Porcius Cato, called the Censor, was one of the leading men of Rome in the first half of the second century B. C.: a shrewd, hard-headed Roman, full of prejudices, and priding himself on his blunt man- ners. He was a distinguished antiquarian, and wrote books on antiquities and agriculture.—**senem**: he gives the name to Cicero's dialogue on Old Age (*Cato Major*).

§ 17. **Rosci** : Q. Roscius, the most eminent actor of his time, defended by Cicero in a speech which is still extant. — **non de-  
buisse**, § 58, 11, *a*.

**141.** § 18. **doctrina**, *theory*; **præceptis**, *rules*; **arte**, *practical skill*. — Q. Ennius, almost the earliest name in Roman literature. He was a native of Rudia in Magna Græcia, but wrote in Latin (born B. C. 239). His principal work was the *Annales*, an epic poem upon Roman history. He also wrote tragedies and other works.

§ 19. **Homerum**, etc. : Colophon, Chios, and Smyrna were Ionian cities of Asia Minor; Salamis an island near Athens. The names of the cities thus claiming Homer are given in the following verse : —

Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodos, Argos, Athenæ.

**142.** **Cimbricas res** : the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, who invaded Italy and were at length defeated by Marius : the latter, B. C. 102; the former, 101.

§ 20. **Themistoclem** : the great Athenian statesman and general, who won the battle of Salamis, in the second Persian invasion (B. C. 480), and afterwards, by his skilful policy, raised Athens to its greatest height of power. — **L. Plotium**, a Roman teacher of rhetoric.

§ 21. For the statements in this section, see oration for Manilian Law. — **eiusdem**, i. e. Lucullus. — **quæ**, *these things* (just mentioned) : **quorum** *limits ingeniis*.

§ 22. **Africano superiori** : the conqueror of Hannibal. — **in sepulchro Scipionum** : this tomb, on the Appian Way, has been discovered, and in it a bust of *peperino* (not marble), which has by some been supposed to be that of Ennius, referred to here. Probably, however, **in** here means *on*. — **hujus** : M. Porcius Cato, called *Uticensis*, from his killing himself at Utica after Cæsar's victory. Cato the Censor was his great-grandfather. — **Maximi**, etc. : Q. Fabius Maximus, "the shield of Rome," in the Second Punic War; M. Marcellus, "the sword of Rome" (see note, Verr. V. § 6); Q. Fulvius Flaccus, a distinguished officer in the same war. — **illum**, Ennius.

**143.** **Heracliensem** : Heraclia (see note, § 6) is here scornfully compared with the insignificant Rudia.

§ 23. **quo** relates to **eodem**; **cupero** governs the clause **quo . . . penetrare** : *we ought to desire that wherever*, &c. — **populis**, *dat. after ampla. a noble thing for them*.

§ 24. **Sigeum**, a promontory near Troy. — **Magnus**, i. e. Pompey. — **Mitylenæum** : Mitylene was an Æolian city in the island Lesbos, the home of the famous lyric poets Alcæus and Sappho. — **rustici**, *country people*.

§ 25. *civitate donaretur*, § 51, 1, *c.* — *de populo*, of the people, i. e. of low birth. — *quod fecisset*, which he had made as an epigram (poetical address) to him. — *tantummodo*, i. e. this was its only poetical merit. — *eis rebus*: i. e. confiscated goods.

§ 26. *Cordubæ*, at Cordova in Spain: later the birth-place of Seneca and Lucan. — *pingue atque peregrinum*, clumsy and outlandish. — *optimus quisque*, § 17, 5, *c.*

§ 27. *Brutus*: D. Junius Brutus (cos. B. C. 138) conquered the Lusitanians (of Portugal). — *L. Accius* (Attius), a tragic poet, distinguished for vigor and sublimity, born B. C. 170: he lived long enough for Cicero in his youth to converse with him. — *Fulvius*: M. Fulvius Nobilior (cos. B. C. 189) subdued Ætolia. He was distinguished as a friend of Greek literature, and built, from the spoils of war, a temple to Hercules and the Muses. — *togati*, see note, Cat. III. § 15.

§ 28. *adornavi*, I supplied him, i. e. with facts and other materials

§ 30. *imagines*, busts (see note, Verr. V. § 15). — *afutura est* (*absum*), shall be void to my sense.

§ 31. *vetustate*: i. e. long continued friendship (see § 5). — *quæ comprobetur*, § 65, 2.



# CICERO DE SENECTUTE

*(CATO MAJOR)*

A

## DIALOGUE ON OLD AGE

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EDITED BY J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH.

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## NOTE.

**THIS** volume is one of a series of School Classics, to be prepared on the same plan and under the same joint editorship with the "Select Orations of Cicero," published in June. It will be soon followed by Sallust's Catiline, now in press, and by others of the series as hereafter announced.

**BOSTON, October 25, 1873.**



The circumstances which led Cicero to devote himself more especially in his later years to philosophy have been briefly touched on in the sketch of his life prefixed to the Orations. During the first year of Cæsar's supremacy (B.C. 46), we are told that he gathered a sort of school about him in his retreat at Tusculum, where "he trained Pansa, Hirtius, and Dolabella like a preceptor," seeking distraction from the defeats and calamities of his public life.\* The death of his daughter Tullia, early in the following year, with other and more ignoble domestic sorrows, confirmed his disposition to solitude, and his desire to find comfort in "the calm and still air of delightful studies."† The memory of his griefs he sought to banish by spending whole days in composition. To this year belong, among other philosophical writings, the *Academics*, the *De Finibus*, and the *Tusculan Questions*. The death of Cæsar, with the new political hopes it brought, broke off these labors for a while; but before the final struggle with Antony began was another short interval of literary activity, in which were composed the treatises *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *De Gloria*, and *De Officiis*, as well as the two brief Dialogues *De Senectute* (*Cato Major*), and *De Amicitia* (*Lælius*).

Probably no one of his shorter writings is better known or more generally admired than the dialogue on Old Age. It

\* "While I languished in idleness, and the condition of the State was such that it must needs be ruled by one man's counsel and care, I thought, first, that philosophy should be unfolded to our people for the sake of the State itself, holding it to be of great consequence to the honor and glory of the body politic (*civitas*), that things so noble and weighty should be had in Latin writings. I was urged to this, besides, by that sorrow of heart, caused by the great and heavy blows of fortune; for which if I could have found any greater comfort, I should not have taken refuge primarily in this; but in no way can I better share that comfort, than by giving myself not only to the reading of books, but to the handling of philosophy at large." N. D. i. 14.

† *Mærorem minui; dolorem nec potui, nec si possem vellem.* — Att. xii. 28.

was written at the age of sixty-two years and upwards, and was addressed to his friend Atticus, who was three years older.\* It belongs to the division of Ethics, which had for its subject-matter the nature of the *summum bonum*, and the conduct of life. Since the third century B.C. philosophy had lost the hope of substituting reason for violence in the management of affairs, and had aimed to find for the individual philosopher, in virtue or pleasure or elsewhere, a satisfaction to outweigh the inevitable ills of life. Every relation and incident of life was a subject of philosophical discussion, either from the pleasure it could afford, or the pain it was vulgarly supposed to cause.

In this treatise Cicero, imitating Aristot of Ceos, endeavors to show that old age, usually considered one of the ills of life, is to the wise man deprived of its terrors. In form it imitates the Socratic or Platonic dialogue, the slight part taken in it by the other speakers serving only to give an air of reality, and to mark the divisions of the subject, while the name of Cato gives dignity and weight to the argument.† The dialogue is put, apparently, in the last year of Cato's long life, and represents the old man discoursing, calmly and cheerfully, with the younger Scipio (Æmilianus), brother-in-law of Cato's elder son, and his friend Lælius, the same who gives his name to the dialogue on Friendship. Cicero himself was strongly attracted by some points of the old statesman's life and character, his plebeian birth, his political struggles, his intellectual eminence, and his genuine love of rural occupations. The incidents of his career he has studied carefully, and introduced into his discourse, with here and there a bit of his antique style, — *antiquior sermo*,

\* Ad senem senex de senectute. — Læl. i. 5. Legendus mihi sæpius est *Cato Major* ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit: stomachor omnia. — Att. xiv. 21.

† Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quæ de illâ ætate loqueretur, quam ejus qui et diutissime senex fuisset, et in ipsâ senectute præter ceteros florisset. . . . Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. — Læl. i. 4.

*horridiora verba.\** But though the discourse is put in Cato's mouth, it is Cicero that speaks. Not merely is there the ripe Latin of the last century of the Republic, and the perfection of style of the greatest of Roman authors, but the thoughts and sentiments, even, are not such as belong to the tough and hard-headed Cato, whom Cicero employs as a lay-figure, to be dressed in the mental costume of his own day.

And, withal, he fashions the antique character into something of his own more modern likeness. The Cato of the dialogue is mild-mannered, reflective, at home in philosophical literature, and even not disinclined to music, after the example of Socrates. The real Cato was harsh in temper, narrow in prejudice, a shrewd hater of the elder Scipio who was his rival, and of the whole party of refinement. He was a man "of iron strength of body and mind, of antique sternness and firmness of character, of simplicity and thrift, of patriotism that was close to narrow bigotry, of strength of will and patient temper, of unwearied force of toil and thirst for knowledge, with a copious knowledge of law and a vigorous original eloquence, of bravery and generalship, of nervous activity in his province as husbandman and householder, as statesman and writer, with a high reputation for practical sagacity, commanding the unshaken regard of the people and senate, in both public and private life, and all this to the very end of his great old age." †

So far as any connection with the substance of the book is concerned, we might dismiss Cato with these few words. It is necessary, however, briefly to describe his life and character, by way of explaining the allusions in the body of the work.

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO — "the Elder" or the "Censor" — was born at Tusculum, of a plebeian family, B.C. 234. His

\* Brutus, 17, 68.

† Lahmeyer. Cicero seems to have been aware of this inconsistency in the delineation (see § 3). Perhaps he meant to recommend philosophy by making even Cato in his last years attracted by it.

youth was spent in "thrift, hardship, and tillage," varied, as he came of age, by pleading in the local courts. He served in South Italy against Hannibal under Fabius Maximus (B.C. 212 and 209), again under Nero (B.C. 207) probably as military tribune, in Sicily and Africa as quæstor under Scipio (B.C. 204), as consul in Spain (B.C. 195), and as *legatus* at Thermopylæ, where he contributed largely to the victory over Antiochus. Though by birth a simple yeoman, as Marius was a hundred years later, he was never like him a popular partisan, but became himself a leading member of the aristocracy. Gifted with a shrewd common sense, and an effective popular eloquence, the energetic, upright young rustic became known to the patrician Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who was his fast friend in Rome, and afterwards his colleague as consul, *legatus*, and censor. With all his intellectual vigor he had the prejudices of the narrow and bigoted conservatism that marked the temper of the elder Republic; and it was one of his acts to expel the Athenian envoys mentioned above from Rome, for fear of corrupting the Roman youth. His son Marcus, who died B.C. 152, — a man of marked genius and merit, — married the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, and so was brother-in-law of the younger Scipio. Another son, born when Cato was eighty years old, was the grandfather of Cato *Uticensis*, the most able and honest of Cæsar's enemies. After a long controversy with Scipio Nasica, Cato succeeded (B.C. 150) in forcing on the third and last war with Carthage. He died the following year, at the age of eighty-five.

Cato is best known by the severity with which he exercised the censorship. This gave him the name by which he is best known, *Censorius*, or the censor. This office was then at the height of its efficiency, and was an engine of almost despotic power. The men holding it had the unrestricted right to make out the list of Senators, that is, to determine who should govern Rome for the next five years; and, on the other hand, to punish, by expulsion from the Senate, by a private stigma of infamy, or even by the entire

deprivation of political rights, any person whom they chose. (See § 42.) A cause must be assigned ; but even if this were omitted, there seems to have been no appeal from their judgment. Flaccus, the colleague of Cato, stood steadily by him in his action as censor, and, with his narrowness, obstinacy, prejudice, but entire honesty, he exercised the power of his office with relentless vigor. If it was especially his own private enemies that he punished, no doubt he sincerely believed them to be dangerous to the State, or they would not be enemies of his.

These characteristics clung to him through life. Whatever was new he opposed ; and in this way he has the credit of having resisted many baneful innovations, as also many salutary ones. He had no capacity to distinguish between the steady movement of national life and those insidious influences from outside, which eat out the national vigor. By his stubborn conservatism he gained the repute of being a typical Roman of the old school ; while, in fact, the glory and strength of Rome lay in her ability to draw into herself, and not exclude or destroy, the life of the races she subdued.

The writings of Cato were : 1. *De Re Rustica*, the first Latin treatise on agriculture, full of practical observations and directions, in great part still extant ; 2. *Origines*, the first historical work in Latin, curtly and briefly told, from the earliest legendary stories down to his own day, of which only fragments remain ; 3. various writings on politics, antiquities, and war, with numerous orations, of which Cicero had read " more than a hundred and fifty." \*

\* Brut. 17.

# ON OLD AGE.

CATO MAJOR, *sive* DE SENECTUTE.

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O TITE, si quid te adiuero curamve levasso  
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,  
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flaminium

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei.

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flaminium,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctisque diesque ;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus meipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis, et te et me ipsum levare volo : etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa, et saepe dicemus : hunc librum ad te de

senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus, — parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, — sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere. CATO. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Laeli, difficilem, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsis petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adepti: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent. Primum, quis coëgit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adolescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adolescentia obrepit? Deinde, qui minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam optumam ducem tamquam deum sequimur, eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae

partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum, et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare? 6. LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus. CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est. LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc quo pervenisti videre quale sit.

III. 7. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querellis aequalium meorum — pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur — quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est. 8. LAELIUS. Est ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias



et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere. CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: ‘Nec (hercule),’ inquit ‘si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis sis, clarus umquam fuisses.’ Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, — quamquam id quidem maximum est, — verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Quintum Maximum [eum qui Tarentum recepit] senem adulescens ita dilexi ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exultantem patientia sua mollebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,  
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.  
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit ! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, ' Mea opera, Quinte Fabi, Tarentum recepisti,' ' Certe,' inquit ridens, ' nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga, qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis quoad potuit restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti ; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur contra auspicia ferri.

12. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus ? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo ! quae praecepta ! quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii ! Multae etiam ut in homine Romano litterae. Omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo extincto fore unde discerem neminem.

v. 13. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo ? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem ; nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisque pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus ; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum qui *Pana-*

*thenaicus* inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cujus magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'Nihil habeo' inquit 'quod accusem senectutem.' 14. Praeclarum responsum, et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cuius modo mentionem feci Ennius:

Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo  
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est: cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, — tot enim vixit Ennius, — ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur. 15. Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

VI. 'A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit.' Quibus? An iis quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nul-laene igitur res sunt seniles quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? Nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, filii mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defen-

debant, nihil agebant? 16. Ad Appi Claudii senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant  
Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est; etiam ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. 17. Nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerunda versari senectutem negant; [similesque sunt] ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea quae iuvenes: at vero maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. 18. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor cum bella non gero. At senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo, et quo modo: Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero. 19. Quam palmam utinam Di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte sextus hic et tricesimus annus est: sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me

consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. 20. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adolescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur, ut est in Naevi poëtae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis :

Provéniebant orátore noví, stulti adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. 21. 'At memoria minuitur.' Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina: Num igitur censes eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos. Nec sepulcra legens vereor (quod aiunt) ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audiivi oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt: vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22. Quid iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria; neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit: quod propter

studium cum rem negligere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, *Oedipum Coloneum*, recitasse iudicibus, quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur: quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. 23. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit?

24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere: sed idem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

Serit arbores quae alteri saeclo prosint, ut ait Statius noster in *Synephebis*. 25. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat, respondere: Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

Edepól senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti  
Adpórtes tecum, cum ádvenis, unum íd sat est,  
Quod díú vivendo múlta quae non vólt videt.

Et multa fortasse quae volt ! atque in ea quae non volt saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius :

Tum equidem in senecta hoc députo misérimum,  
Sentire ea aetate ípsum esse odiosum alteri.

26. Iucundum potius quam odiosum ! Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid ? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri : et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide adripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, — discebant enim fidibus antiqui, — sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

ix. 27. Nec nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, — is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, — non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti ; et quicquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae ? qui, cum iam senex esset, athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur, inlacrimansque dixisse : ‘ At hi quidem mortui iam sunt. ’ Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator ! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur.

tur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

28. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute, est enim munus eius non ingeni solum sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam disertis senis composita et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? 29. An ne eas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adolescentis doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones, et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adolescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adolescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorrem factam quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum Pontifex Maximus factus esset, viginti duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adolescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quamquam est id quidem senile, aetatique nostrae conceditur.

x. 31. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim iam aetatem hominum vivebat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens



aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, 'ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio,' quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Ajacis similis habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura. 32. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem possem gloriari quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabri-one consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus; non curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallet, quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus.

33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; cum absit, ne requiras: nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis, et una via naturae eaque simplex; suaeque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas iuvenum, et gravitas iam constantis aetatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quid-

dam habeat quod suo tempore percipi debeat. **34.** Audire te arbitrator, Scípío, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem; itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

**xi.** Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo, et legibus et institutis, vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. **35.** 'At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint.' At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberius accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scípío, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt: pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem.

**36.** Habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt: animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait

Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hoc significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum; sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex. Intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant: vigeat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina.

38. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo: quod qui sequitur corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit.

Septimus mihi liber *Originum* est in manibus: omnia antiquitatis monumenta conligo: causarum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis: in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in senatum frequens, ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat

senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit; nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. 39. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis quod est in adolescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: ‘Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius [voluptatis] avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur; 40. hinc patriae prodiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina conloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; supra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis. Cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. 41. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem; si quidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret.’ Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni

interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

42. Quorsum haec? Ut intellexeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Inpedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est; mentis (ut ita dicam) praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem septem annis postquam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

XIII. 43. Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cineas esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda: quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur.

44. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia

non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus, —divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, —quamquam inmoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium, Marci filium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. 45. Sed quid ego alios? Ad meipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt, sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim majores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae conjunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt; melius quam Graeci qui hoc idem tum conpotationem tum concenationem vocant; ut quod in eo genere minimum est id maxime probare videantur.

xiv. 46. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum; habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere

sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta; et is sermo qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo; et pocula, sicut in *Symposio* Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum cotidie conpleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimur.

47. 'At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus.' Credo: sed ne desideratur quidem. Nihil autem est molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora!' inquit: 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat: ergo non desiderare dico esse iucundius.

48. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus; deinde iis quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima; sic adulescentia voluptates propter inveniunt magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans, tantum quantum sat est.

49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse secumque (ut dicitur) vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Galum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coe-

pisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! 50. Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat *Bello suo Punico* Naevius! quam *Truculento* Plautus! quam *Pseudulo*! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontifici et civilis iuris studio loquar? aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnis quos commemoravi his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte *Suadae medullam* dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae: quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

xv. 51. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute, et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec cuiquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat; quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen exceptit, primum id occaecatum cohibet (ex quo *occatio* quae hoc efficit nominata est); deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit, culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus



cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. 52. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est, et nisi fulta est fertur ad terram, eadem ut se erigat claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta complectitur; quam, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur. 53. Itaque ineunte vere in iis quae relictæ sunt existit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit; quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret, et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea quam dixi aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego inrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet: at Homerus, qui multis (ut mihi videtur) ante saeculis fuit, Laertam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem

agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis; tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

xvi. 55. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum; sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis: cuius quidem ego villam contemplans — abest enim non longe a me — admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. 56. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes; siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cujus dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse: neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent; ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum

voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni adsiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est: abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruentum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58. Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse: cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo

essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse, 'Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.'

60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus; nec aetas impedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta jam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cujus inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis majores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. 61. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: 'Unum hunc plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primum fuisse virum.' Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adolescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. 62. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adolescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno

quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, 'Miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet.' Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt; sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. 63. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, — salutare, adpeti, decedi, adsurgere, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consensu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur, et senem sessum recepisse. 64. Quibus cum a cuncto consensu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam, Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam qui cum imperio sunt, majores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregissee, nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu conruisse.

65. 'At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes.' Si quaerimus, etiam avari: sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur: con-

temni se putant, despici, inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in *Adelphis* sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas matura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam (sicut alia) modicam; acerbitem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intellego. Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius, quam quo viae minus restet eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. 66. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. 67. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes; gravius aegrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem. Quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur: mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adolescentia esse commune?

68. Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. 'At sperat adulescens

diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest.' Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? 'At senex ne quod speret quidem habet.' At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est. Ille volt diu vivere; hic diu vixit. 69. Quamquam, O Di boni! quid est in hominis vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem. Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat. Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum: cum enim id advenit, tum illud quod praeteriit effluxit; tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. 70. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est; modo in quocumque fuerit actu probetur; neque sapienti usque ad *Plaudite* veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat, ostenditque fructus futuros: reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. 71. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur: senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte, nulla

adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas. Quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

xx. 72. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis [mortemque contemnere]. Ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adolescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur ‘Senectute.’ Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. 73. Solonis quidem sapientis est elegium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu

Faxit. *Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.*

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas consequatur. 74. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adolescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo



esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis independentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? 75. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus; non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt; non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret; non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt; non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte eluit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem; non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, — sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in *Originibus*, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes — et ii quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici — contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetas quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam eius aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis. Ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis. Quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis adfert.

xxi. 77. Non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tu Scipio, tuque Laeli, viros clarissimos mihi-que amicissimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his conpagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim

animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus, et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatisque contrarium. Sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantur imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio inpulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. 78. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, [tanta scientiae,] tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis adripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

XXII. 79. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus major haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, O mei carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus

quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. 80. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem persuaderi numquam potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discedit adparet. 81. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim cum remissi et liberi sunt futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote' inquit 'ut deum. Sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

XXIII. 82. Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum, aut multos praestantis viros quos enumerare non est neçesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes — ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier — me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem

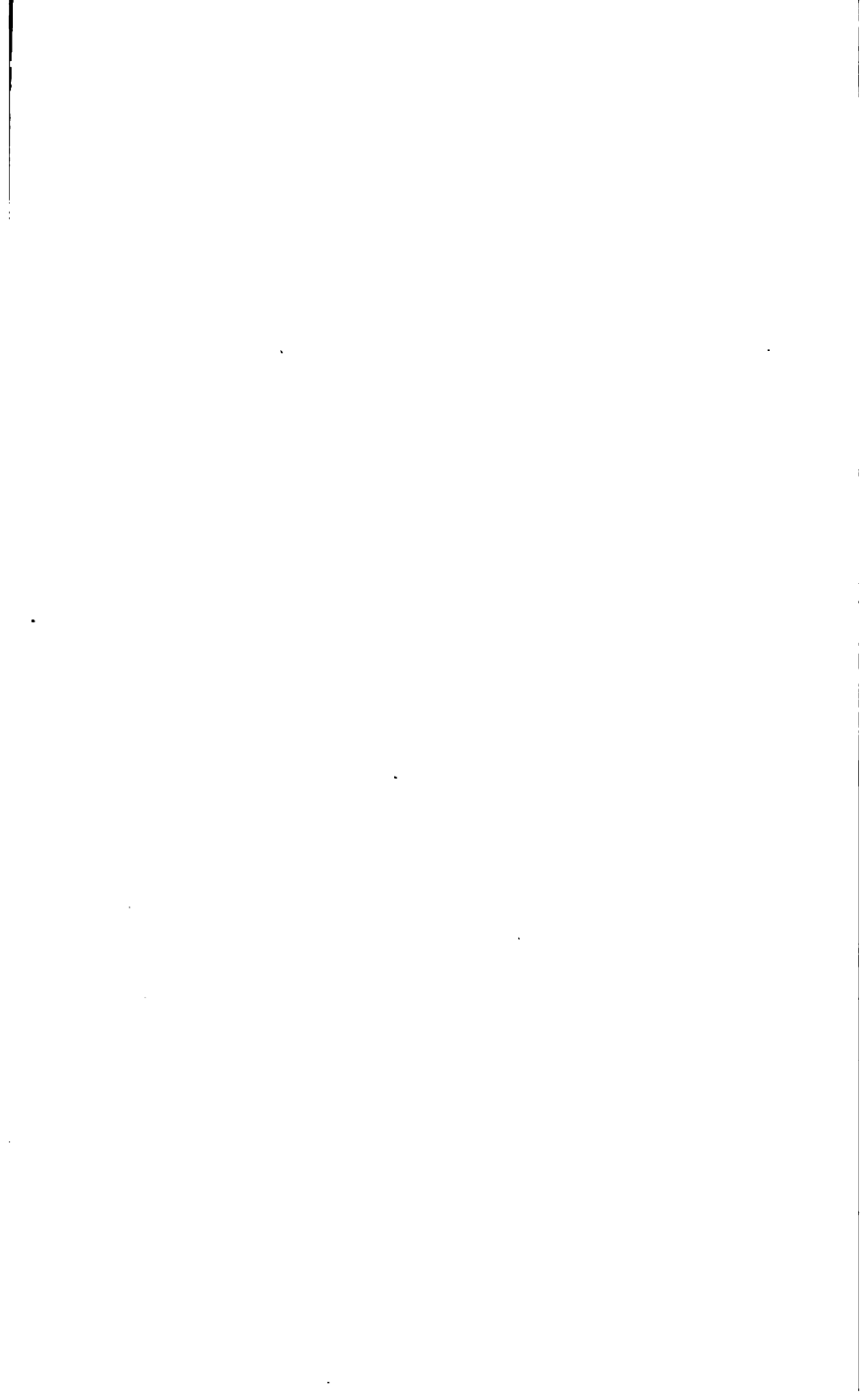
et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi cum excessisset e vitam denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatis gloriam nitetur. 83. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci; ille autem cui obtusior sit acies non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi; neque vero eos solum convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audiavi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim, quasi decurso spatio, ad carceres a calce revocari. 84. Quid enim habet vita commodi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt: neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existumem; et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. 85. O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar, cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum, — quod contra decuit ab illo meum, — animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego

meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existumans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

86. His mihi rebus, Scipio, — id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti, — levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, libenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo extorqueri volo. Sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censeant, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui inrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum rerum omnium, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniat, ut ea quae ex me audistis, re experti, probare possitis.

## NOTES.



## NOTES.

### Argument.

CHAP. I. Cicero sets forth to his friend Atticus his motive in composing the work — 2. Scipio and Lælius ask of Cato his experience of old age. — 3. Cato recounts the charges commonly made against old age, and qualifies them. — 4, 5. He speaks of the old age of Fabius Maximus, employed in politics and war, and of other examples, both Greek and Roman, philosophers and poets. There are four complaints against old age: exclusion from active life, the enfeebling of the bodily powers, deprivation of sensual pleasure, and the near approach of death. — 6. Does old age unfit for active life? Age has its own activities: Claudius, Cato, etc. — 7, 8. The alleged defect of memory: examples of aged poets, philosophers, orators, etc., and of others, who continue to learn in advanced life. — 9, 10. Lack of bodily vigor: only the athletes mourn this, and even this is not universal among the old. Exercise and temperance resist old age: examples of Nestor and Cato himself. Cyrus and Masinissa. — 11. Nor is strength needed, and if many old men are inferior, so are many young men. We must withstand old age, both bodily and mentally, as did Appius Claudius; for only a self-respecting independent old age is honored. — 12. Age, it is true, is incapable of bodily pleasure: but in this it has the advantage over youthful passion. — 13. The false teaching of the Epicureans respecting pleasure. — 14. Old age has still the true joys of companionship, science, and authorship. — 15. So also the occupations and delights of husbandry: testimony of Hesiod and Homer. — 16. Curius and Cincinnatus: agriculture is peculiarly fit for the old. — 17. Xenophon, Cyrus, Valerius, and others. — 18. But only a well-spent youth can prepare for an honorable age: the unhappiness of age is the fault of temper in the old. — 19. The approach of death: comparison of exposure to death in age and youth. — 20. Death is no evil; but either a cessation of being, or a blessed change. — 21. The good man hopes for immortality. — 22. The dying Cyrus. — 23. The hope which sustains honorable labors; anticipation of a noble life.

§ 1. **Tite.** In addressing his friend *Titus* Pomponius Atticus, Cicero elegantly applies some hexameters from Ennius's *Annales*, addressed to *Titus* Quinctius Flamininus the conqueror of Macedon (B.C. 193). The incident here referred to was when, after being for 40 days baffled in an attempt to cross the mountain passes of Epirus, he was at last approached by a faithful herdsman, who offered to guide him across. The victory of Cynoscephalæ which followed, B.C. 197, gave Flamininus unlimited control over Greece, which he used with great moderation. At the Isthmian games near Corinth, he formally restored their independence to the Greeks, after which both Greece and Macedonia remained independent for about fifty years. — *adjuero*, § 30, 6, *a*. — *curam*, *anxiety*, an account of the success of the enemy in baffling him. — *levasso* = *levavero* (§ 30, 6, *e*). — *coquit, versât, burns and goads*: for the quantity see § 83, *g*<sup>3</sup>. — *ille vir*, the herdsman. — *plenûs*, § 83, *a*. — *fidēi* retains the original long *ē* of the fifth declension. — *quamquam* (corrective), *and yet*. — *moderationem et sequitatem* (both with



*animi*), *self control and even temper*. — *cognomen*, the surname *Atticus*, due to the Greek culture and sympathies of Pomponius, and his long residence at Athens. — *deportasse*, *brought off*, a kind of technical military term. — *eisdem rebus*, i. e. the civil war and the despotism of Cæsar. — *me ipsum*, § 67, 1, b, r. — *quarum*, obj. gen. — *major*, *a more serious matter*.

§ 2. *hoc* (§ 54, 1, c), not merely antecedent of *quod*, but demonstrative: *this burden* (i. e. old age). — *certe*, *at any rate* (§ 41, 3, c). — *senectute*: the Romans distinguished the ages of *pueritia*, *adolescencia*, *juventus*, *ætas seniorum*, and *senectus*, in periods of about fifteen years, but not very exactly. — *te quidem*: here *quidem* merely emphasizes *te*. — *mihi*: not really emphatic, but opposed to *te* and *tu*, according to the Roman fashion (see Or for Roscius, § 1). — *eo munere*, *a tribute*. — *uteretur*, *enjoy*. — *confectio*, *composition*. — *absterserit*, *brushed away*. — *molestias*, *vexations*. — *mollem*, *undisturbed* ("smooth"). — *cui . . . possit*, a subjunct. of charact. (§ 65, 2. Probably originally an *apodosis*, which it much resembles here: compare "Latin Subjunctive," p. 19). — *omne tempus ætatis*, *every period of life*, i. e. even old age, the most unpromising.

§ 3. *ceteris*, the other topics of philosophy.

2. *misimus*, *I send* (§ 58, 8). — *autem*, *however*. The thought is, "I do not write it, however, as a treatise in my own person, but have put it in the mouth of a fit speaker; not Tithonus, but, etc." — *Tithono*, the husband of Eos (*Aurora*). The gods gave the gift of immortality to him at her request, but she forgot to ask for perpetual youth, so he became a stock example of age. Life soon became a burden to him; as a second boon, he was changed into a *cicada* (katydid). — *Aristo*, a Peripatetic philosopher of the Island of Ceos, who lived in the third cent. B.C. — *esset* (§ 60, 2), i. e. if I had. — *auctoritatis*, *dignity*. — *in fabula*, *in a mythical tale*. — *Lælium et Scipionem*, these two names are types of friendship, like Damon and Pythias, or David and Jonathan. Cicero's treatise *De Amicitia*, the companion to that *De Senectute*, has its name from Lælius.

P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus (cos. B.C. 147; known also as *Africanus Minor*, to distinguish him from his grandfather by adoption, the conqueror of Hannibal) was son of L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, but passed by adoption into the family of Scipio. As a statesman and general he was first of his age; of unblemished private character, and of a calm good sense which was the quality most needed in his time. Mommsen says of him: "The history of Rome presents various men of greater genius than Scipio Æmilianus, but none equalling him in moral purity, in the utter absence of political selfishness, in generous love of his country, and none, perhaps, to whom destiny has assigned a more tragic part." He was assassinated, B.C. 129, probably by the infamous Carbo. C. Lælius is known to us principally by his association with Scipio: he was in his time a man of high culture and considerable influence, especially noted as a public speaker. *ipse*, as opposed to the part he plays in this book. — *attribuito*, *you must ascribe it* (fut. imperat. on account of the future protasis *videbitur*). — *plura*, sc. *dicere* (§ 49, 2, c). — *jam*, *presently*.

§ 4. *sæpe numero, oftentimes*. — *excellentem*, as compared with others; *perfectam*, with absolute wisdom. — *quod . . . senserim*, informal indir. discourse following *admirari*, § 66, 1, *d*. — *Ætna*, a proverbial expression from Euripides, referring to the myth of Enceladus buried beneath Mount Etna. — *haud sane, not very*, — a kind of *litotes*, always with a jocose turn, as our “not much of a,” etc. — *omnia bona . . . petunt*: this Stoic sentiment is put naturally in the mouth of Cato, to whose character that doctrine had a special fitness. — *eandem accusant adepti, and yet they find fault with it when reached*. — *putavissent*, subj. of indir. disc. (for indic. of direct, which the Latin prefers in these expressions where we say “would have thought”). — *quamvis longa, however long*. — *cum effluxisset*, i. e. in the case supposed.

§ 5. *quæ utinam esset, and I wish it were*. — *cognomine*, i. e. *Cato* = *catus, shrewd*, or from the title *sapiens*, bestowed on him. — *in hoc sapientes, a philosopher*; alluding to the Stoic doctrine, *secundum naturam vivere*.

3. *extremum actum*, i. e. life is a drama, and its author will not leave its last act void of interest. — *inerti, without skill (ars)*. — *tamen, yet*: however excellent the composition, it must have a beginning, middle, and end. — *bacis (baccis)*, meaning the smaller fruits, as olives, etc. — *maturitate tempestiva, in the fulness of time*. — *ferundum*, old form. — *molliter, patiently* (lit. *smoothly*, or without resistance, also used in a bad sense). — *Gigantum*, a brood of monsters, who revolted against Zeus, and were punished by being thrust under the earth; Enceladus, for instance, under Etna. They were often confounded with the Titans, an earlier race of demigods, children of Uranus and Rhea, who revolted against Kronos.

§ 6. *atqui* (regularly of the minor premiss), *and now* (that being so). — *ut pollicear*, § 64, 1, *b*. — *feceris*, § 58, 7, *R*. — *fieri*, belonging to the last verb, *volumus*: *speramus* would take a fut. infin). — *quidem* simply emphasizes *volumus*. — *certe, at all events*. — *vero, of course*. — *volumus sane* (stronger than Cato's *gratum esse*), *why certainly, we are anxious*. — *confeceris*, § 61, 1, *R*. — *ingrediundum* (§ 72, 5, *b*, *R*.), nom. of the gerund form, governing the acc. *quam*. (In Greek this usage is regularly retained with the verbal *εὐον*, and in Sanskrit is universal. An archaism in Latin: perhaps used here intentionally as such). — *istuc*, neut. acc. (§ 20, 1, *N*). — *quale*, i. e. what is the nature of.

§ 7. *æqualium* (i. e. in age), *mate*, explaining *pares*, below. — *quæ*, cognate acc., referring by *synesis* to *querellis*. — *Salinator*: C. Livius Salinator, cos. B. C. 188; Sp. Postumius Albinus, cos. 186: men of no special note. — *tum, tum, now, now*. — *quod carerent* (§ 66, 1, *d*), see § 39. — *accusare, find fault with*. —

**usu** (probably dat. for **usui**) **venirent**, *would be experienced by*. — **multorum**, agreeing with **quorum** (§ 50, 2, e, R<sup>3</sup>). — **sine querella** § 50, 3, d, R. — **qui ferrent**, § 65, 2. — **moribus**, *character* (as determined by habit). — **setate**, time of life. — **moderati**, *well regulated*. — **difficiles**, *hard to please* (of the temper); **inhumani**, *churlish* (of breeding merely). — **autem**, *on the other hand*.

**A. § 8. dignitatem**, *respectability*. — **est . . . aliquid**, *there is something in that, to be sure*. — **nequaquam**, *not by any means*. — **Themistocles**, whose policy created the naval power of Athens. The anecdote, referring to the honors he received at Sparta, is told by Herodotus (viii. 125) of a citizen of Belbina, an islet near Sunium. Seriphus is one of the smallest of the Cyclades. — **summa inopia**, *the depth of poverty*. — **levis**, *a trifling matter*. — **non gravis**, *otherwise than burdensome*. (Both wisdom and estate are needed for the comfort of age, just as talent and opportunity were both needed for the glory of Themistocles.)

**§ 9. omnino**, *in general*. — **arma**, *defences*. — **artes** = *study*. — **cum . . . vixeris**, gen. cond. (§ 59, 5, a). — **diu multum**, i. e. a long and varied life. — **ne . . . quidem**, *even*. — **bene factorum**, see § 72, 2, a.

**§ 10. Q. Maximum**: Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the chief citizen of Rome in the early years of the Second Punic War, held command against Hannibal, and from his cautious policy received the name *Cunctator*: the present chapter is chiefly devoted to him. In his fifth consulship (B.C. 209) he recovered Tarentum, the third city in Italy; the Roman commander, M. Livius Macatus had lost the city, but continued to hold the citadel, from which he gave Fabius vigorous aid. — **condita**, *seasoned* (relieved). — **consul primum**, B.C. 233: this fixes the date of Cato's birth at 234. — **adulescentulus**: Cato was at this time (B.C. 214) twenty years old.

Seventeen was the age at which the young man was liable to military service, and this date (B.C. 217) is given by Plutarch and Nepos for Cato's first campaign. Nepos adds that in 214 he was military tribune, which is inconsistent with the rule that this office required five years of service, as well as with the word *miles* in the text. His quaestorship (in B.C. 204) agrees with the rule that ten years of service (or at least of presenting one's self for con-scription) was necessary before holding any civil office.

**quinto anno post**, i. e. counting in the fifth year, B.C. 209; **quadriennio post**, i. e. after the expiration of the full four years' interval, B.C. 204. — **quem magistratum**, *which office* (of praetor). — **cum quidem**, *at which very time*. (The whole of this prelude, suited to the garrulousness of age, indicates also the respective dates of these lives.) — **legis Cinciae**, B.C. 204, ordaining *ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve acciperet*. This was one of a series of laws designed to shut out the governing aristocracy from active business. (The idea seems to have been similar to that which re-

quires members of the British Parliament to serve without compensation: government was the business of a rich hereditary aristocracy.) — *plane grandis, quite advanced in years.* — *patientia, stubborn endurance.* — *familiaris*, rather an unwarranted term under the circumstances. Towards the end of his life Cato modified his stern conservatism so far as to make a study of Greek (see § 3); but at the time alluded to he was the last man in Rome to make an "intimate" of a mere man of letters, of Greek birth too, like Ennius. Indeed, he reproached M. Fulvius Nobilior, the leader in the Hellenizing movement of the day, for having taken Ennius with him on his campaign in Ætolia. — *cunctando*, hence the name *Cunctator*. — *nonum*, earlier form of *non* = *ne unum* (*œnum*), as the English *none*. — *ponebāt*, § 83, 1, *g*<sup>5</sup>. — *post*, i. e. not only then, but as it is now. — *magis, more* (than it otherwise would).

§. § 11. *cum quidem, when, you know.* — *Salinatori*: a mistake of Cicero's. M. Livius Salinator was a distinguished and successful general in the campaign against Hasdrubal, B.C. 207; it was M. Livius Macatus that lost Tarentum, and gave efficient service from the citadel in its recovery. — *certe, no doubt.* — *vero, in truth.* — *in toga*, i. e. in civil affairs: "pacis est insigne et oti toga; contra autem arma tumultus atque belli" (In Pis. 30). — *consul iterum* (B.C. 228), *being consul for a second term.* — *C. Flaminius*, the chief popular leader of his day, often held up to reproach by writers, like Cicero, of aristocratic sympathies. The reproach was enhanced by his disgraceful blunder in the battle of L. Trasimenus, B.C. 217, in which his army was cut to pieces, and he himself killed.

In spite of his ill repute as a demagogue, and his military failure, Flaminius was the author of some very salutary measures. In his tribunate, B.C. 232, he carried the law here referred to, dividing the Gallic and Picene territory among poor citizens, — the policy afterwards revived by the Gracchi, and perhaps the most hopeful remedy of the evils of the State. This measure he carried by a popular vote against the opposition of the Senate, an act which was strictly unconstitutional, inasmuch as this was an administrative measure, which fell within the province of the Senate. In his censorship, B.C. 220, he laid out the Flaminian Way, to the Picene and Gallic region, and built the Flaminian Circus. Shortly after, in the Senate, he was a chief supporter of the Claudian Law, by which Senators were prohibited from engaging in trade. As this was a measure of directly the same tendency as the Cincian Law (see § 10), to maintain the authority of a non-commercial aristocracy, it certainly seems free from demagogism. Inasmuch, however, as it thwarted the pecuniary interests of the Senators, it made them bitterly hostile to him.

*dicere ausus est.* The expression here quoted was safe enough in the mouth of a leader of the aristocracy — as Fabius was — at once Senator, executive officer, and interpreter of the omens. But it of course struck at the root of the whole Roman polity and religion, betraying a decline of faith, which was the first symptom of national decay. — *optimis auspiciis*, etc., compare Iliad, xii. 243.

§ 12. *quo modo tulit*: the indic. (instead of the subj. of indir. question) is perhaps chosen as belonging to the old style (§ 67, 2, *d*); otherwise the antecedent *modus* must be understood, which

seems harsh. — **filii consularis**: this son, who had the same name as his father, was consul B.C. 213. It is of him that the story is told, strongly characteristic of Roman customs, that his father, being sent as *legatus* to his camp, and meeting him as he proceeded with his train of lictors, neglected to alight from his horse, as respect for the consul required. Upon this a lictor, at the son's order, commanded him to dismount; when he sprang at once to his feet, with the words, "I wished to see, my son, how well you knew that you were consul" (Liv. xxiv. 44). — **est . . . laudatio**, *his eulogy is extant*. — **quem philosophum**, etc., i. e. a nobler temper than any philosopher. — **juris augurii**: i. e. the ecclesiastical or canon law of the Romans.

It was characteristic of both Greeks and Romans, and one of the chief sources of their enduring freedom, that they had no priestly class, but that the religion of the State and the political administration of the State were in the same hands. A few priestly offices of low grade were held as professions by men of low rank; a few priesthoods of great dignity but of no political influence, such as that of *rex sacrificulus*, *flamen*, the *Salii*, etc., were held for life by men of rank, selected solely for their patrician birth: but the great colleges of *pontifices*, augurs, etc., which had control of the religious institutions in their relation to the government, were invariably made up of leading statesmen. For example, Cicero was *augur*, Caesar was *pontifex*. From this it resulted that the interests of a priesthood were never, as in Egypt and other eastern countries, suffered to interfere with the interests of the State. The *jus augurium* was the code of rules by which the college of augurs interpreted the auspices, or expressed will of the gods.

**multæ**, etc., a good knowledge of literature for a Roman; they were, of course, behind the Greeks.

§ 13. **quorsus**, sc. **spectant**, *to what end?* — **profecto**, *doubtless*. — **nefas**, *an outrage*. — **neq. tamen omnes**, *though indeed not all*. — **pedestris**: the term *infantry* is often applied, in Greek and Latin, to the whole land force as distinct from the marine. — **est . . . senectus**, *there is an old age*, etc. (§ 76, I, b). — **placida ac levis**, *calm and serene*, as becomes a philosopher. — **Isocratia**, the "old man eloquent" who died at the report of "that dishonest victory at Chæroneæ, fatal to liberty," at the age of ninety-nine.

6. **Gorgias**, the celebrated sophist, or professional teacher of rhetoric and philosophy, whom Plato introduces in controversy with Socrates on the grounds of moral truth. His last words are said to have been, "Now Sleep bears me to his brother" (Death). — **cessavit**, *relaxed*. — **cum . . . quæreretur**, the regular construction with *quæro* (§ 52, 2, c, R.). — **quod**, adv. acc., § 52, 3, a.

§ 14. **sua vitia conferunt**, *charge their own failings upon*. — **spatio supremo**, *at the end of the course* (the regular term). — **Olympia**, cognate acc. (§ 52, I, b), imitated from the Greek perhaps. — **confectus**, § 83, a. — **quem . . . potestis**, *whom, by the way, you may well remember*. — **anno**, etc., i. e. it is now nineteen years since he died. — **hi consules**: T. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Acilius Balbus, coss. B.C. 150, the assumed date of this dialogue. — **Cæpione**: Q. Marcius Philippus (*iterum*) and Cn. Servilius Cæ-

pio, coss. B.C. 169. — **legem Voconiam**: this was one of the principal sumptuary laws of the Romans, or laws designed to control the private life and luxury of individuals.

"The Voconian law, passed during the later republic, 169 B.C., imposed a restriction on the institution of women as heirs. It applied only to large estates. A person whom the census placed in the first class, as having a rated property of at least one hundred thousand *asses* (i. e. one thousand dollars, which in purchasing power was worth as much as ten thousand now), such a person was forbidden to appoint a woman as heir . . . The alleged design of the statute is said to have been to restrain the growing luxury and extravagance of women, by withholding from them the means of being luxurious and extravagant on a large scale. It can hardly be supposed, however, that this was the principal reason for the measure. A stronger reason must have been the desire of the wealthy class to keep large estates in the families, the agnate families, to which they belonged; if such an estate became the inheritance of a woman, it was apt to pass by her marriage into another family." Hadley, *Introduction to Roman Law*, p. 308.

**bonis lateribus, with sound lungs. — delectari, enjoy.**

§ 15. **etenim** (§ 43, 3, *d*), here passes from the general to the particular. — **a rebus gerendis, from active life** (not necessarily, though usually, *war*). — **an, or is it** (§ 71, 2, *b*). — **res seniles, offices of age.** — **administrentur**, § 65, 2. — **tamen, notwithstanding** these infirmities. — **nihil agebat, was he idle?** — **Paulus** (see note, § 3): his daughter married Marcus, son of Cato, a young man of great promise, who died B.C. 152, as prætor elect. — **Fabritii** etc.: these were statesmen of the war with Pyrrhus, all plebeians and men equally distinguished for ability and integrity. C. Fabricius Luscinus was ambassador to Pyrrhus; M'. Curius Dentatus defeated the Samnites, B.C. 290, and Pyrrhus at Beneventum, B.C. 275; Ti. Coruncanius was the first plebeian *pontifex maximus*. — **cum . . . defendebant**, § 62, 2, *N*.

7. § 16. **Claudi**: App. Claudius, known as Cæcus (*the blind*) or the Censor, one of the few men of real genius among the statesmen of the old Republic. In his censorship (B.C. 311) he attempted some democratic innovations (which were set aside by his successor, Q. Fabius Maximus, ancestor of the *Cunctator*) and built the first military road, the *Appia Via*; he also was the first to bring a supply of fresh water into the city by the *Aqua Appia*. The incident here related of him, that when blind and old he had himself brought into the Senate in order to oppose negotiations with Pyrrhus, and to insist that there should be no negotiations with a foreign enemy on the soil of Italy, is the most illustrious in his life. The speech in which he enforced this policy was extant in the time of Cicero, and passed as the earliest specimen of Roman prose literature. — **accedebat**, i. e. to the infirmity of age was added the accident that (ut) he was blind (§ 70, 4, *a*). — **persecutus est, has given in full.** — **consulatum**: his two consulships were B.C. 307 and 296. It was very unusual for any but a consular man to be made censor. — **grandem, advanced in years.**

§ 17. **at vero, yet in reality.** — **consilio, advice**; **auctoritate, influence**; **sententia, official opinion** (in the Senate). — **quibus, with orbari** as abl. of *separation*; with **augeri** as abl. of *specification*.

§ 18. **nisi forte** (as **nisi vero**), always ironical — **miles, etc.**, the regular grades of military service. The **legatus** was often a man of consular rank. — **præscribo, i. e.** in virtue of his personal influence. — **Karthagini.** This was hardly a ground for boasting. With his characteristic narrowness of spirit and selfish patriotism, Cato could not bear to see the brilliant commercial prosperity which Carthage continued to enjoy, even after being humbled in the second Punic War. He determined that it should be not only humbled, but destroyed, and for several years ended every speech with the words: *Ita censeo, et Karthaginem esse delendam.* — **cogitanti** (§ 72, 1, a), *which has long been plotting mischief.*

§ 19. **avi reliquias**, "what your grandfather left unfinished." — **sextus et tricesimus**; this would give us B.C. 185: the death of the elder Africanus is, however, usually given as 183, the same year with that of Hannibal and Philopœmen. — **ante me censorem**: Cato's censorship was B.C. 184, his consulship 195; the interval here given, *novem annis*, expresses the number of full years intervening. Scipio's second consulship was B.C. 194.

§. **pœniteret** (§ 59, 3, b), i. e. and were living now. — **nec enim, for he would not, you see, etc.** (**num** in the question implying a negative answer. Notice the connectives: three divisions with **nec**, one having a subordinate with **aut**; then three without connectives). — **consilio**: the primary function of the Senate was advisory. — **senatum**, in its primary sense as a *body of elders*.

§ 20. **quidem, in fact.** The Spartan Senate (*γερουσία*) consisted of twenty-eight men over sixty, and the two Kings. The small number enables Cicero to call this a *magistratus*, which term he could not apply to the Roman Senate. — **externa, i. e.** foreign history. — **cedo, come**; **qui, how?** — **Nævi**: Cn. Nævius, the earliest native Roman poet, flourished in the time of the second Punic War. He wrote comedies and tragedies, and an epic poem upon the first Punic War. He was distinguished for bold and original satire. — **proveniebant** (an agricultural word), i. e. a crop of them were springing up. — **videlicet = and naturally, for, etc.**

§ 21. **at memoria** (objection): i. e. memory is lost, which is needed for active business. — **nisi exerceas, gen. cond.** (§ 59, 5, a). — **tardior, rather dull.** — **qui Aristides esset** (§ 66, 2) = the acc. **Aristidem**, which would be ambiguous: *that he ever saluted Aristides as Lysimachus.* — **equidem, for my part.** — **sepulcra legens**: Cato was writing his history, the *Origines*. — **quod aiunt, as they say**;

this expression points to a proverb. The same whim has prevailed in modern times. — *quemquam*, emphatic: *I never heard of any man who in his old age*, etc. — *vadimonia constituta*, *recognitions given*, hence acting as bail, a very common occurrence with men of property, for in all personal actions the defendant gave bail to appear.

§ 22. *quid*, sc. *faciunt*. — *juris consulti*: these were persons who made jurisprudence a study, and whose formally expressed opinions (*responsa*) had much the same weight that judicial decisions have at the present day (see Maine's Ancient Law, Ch. II. p. 42).

They (*JURISCONSULTI*) were consulted by private persons to ascertain and secure their rights, by advocates, jurors (*judices*), and even by the *prators*, who, though their duties were judicial, were themselves rarely lawyers, but politicians in the regular career of office. Until the Empire, their decisions had no binding force, but only a moral influence. Augustus gave to some jurists the *jus respondendi*, the right to interpret the law with binding force. See Hadley, Int. to Roman Law, pp. 61 and 65.

By the side of the jurists who had authority in questions of civil law, are mentioned the *pontifices* and augurs, who had the superintendence of what we may call ecclesiastical law (for the *jus augurium*, see Note on § 12). The *jus pontificium*, exercised by the college of *pontifices*, had authority in the entire field of religious institutions, except so far as foreign rites were under the superintendence of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who had charge of the Sibylline books. The Pontifex Maximus was therefore the head of the ecclesiastical institutions of Rome; this office was conferred upon Augustus, as a regular part of the Emperor's functions, who by this act became head of Church as well as of State. This combination of supreme civil and ecclesiastical powers continued until the Christian emperors.

*senes, in their old age*. — *manent* (emphatic), *continue*. — *ingenia, powers of mind*, including memory and others necessary to active life. — *permaneant*, § 57, 3, c. — *neque ea solum, and that, not only*, etc. — *quod*, agreeing with *studium* (§ 76, 3, a.)

9. *rem familiarem, property*. — *ut . . . removeret*, purpose of *vocatus est*. — *nostro more*, i. e. by the laws of the Twelve Tables. — *patribus*, dat. after *interdicti*, which is used impersonally (§ 51, 2, f). — *bonis* (§ 54, 1), abl. of separation: i. e. from the control of their property. — *desipientem, growing foolish*. — *fabulam, play*. — *in manibus*, i. e. not yet publicly exhibited. — *proxima, last*, and so a proof that he had not lost his powers. This play contains the celebrated chorus in praise of the moral beauty of the neighborhood of Athens. Nothing could have better won the good opinion of his judges.

§ 23. *num*: i. e. do you suppose that, etc. — *studiorum agitatio, the pursuit of letters*.

§ 24. *age, ut omittamus* (§ 64, 1, b), *but come: to pass over*, etc. — *divina*, i. e. poetry and philosophy, which tend to preserve the powers. — *possum nominare* (§ 60, 2, c), *I could name*. — *ex agro Sabino*, in the central mountain region of Italy, where Cato had an estate. — *rusticos, plain farmers*. — *numquam fere, hardly*



*ever*. — *serendis*, etc., § 73, 3, *d.* — *fructibus*, *crops*. — *condendis*, i. e. curing and storing. — *quamquam* (corrective), *and yet*. — *idem* (pl.), *they also*. — *nihil . . . pertinere*, *to have no concern for them*. — *sērit ārbōrēs*, etc., *Cretic tetram.* (§ 82, 6). — *sæclo*, *generation* : old men, therefore, do engage in active labors. — *Stātius* : Cæcilius Statius, a freedman of Insubrian birth, who, like his contemporary Plautus, translated and worked over the comedies of Menander and other Greek writers. None of his plays are extant. Died, B.C. 168.

§ 25. *nec vero*, *and in fact the farmer never hesitates*. — *melius*, i. e. in the preceding. — *illud idem*, *the same poet says in that which follows*. — *videt*, *one sees*.

10. *illud vero*, etc., *and this still worse*.

§ 26. *delectantur*, *find pleasure in*. — *levior*, *less burdensome*. — *gaudent*, *enjoy* (§ 54, 10, *a*). — *languida*, *feeble*; *inera*, *helpless*; *operosa*, *laborious*. — *scilicet*, *that is to say*. — *quid*, *how is it with*, etc. — *addiscunt*, *learn something new*. — *senem fieri*, *grows old*. — *ego*, *I too* (opposed to Solon). — *litteras Græcas*, *Greek*. — *quas quidem adripui*, *and I have seized them too*. — *quasi*, *as it were*. — *ea ipsa*, *these very stories*. — *vellem equidem* (§ 60, 2, *b*, § 57, 4, *c*), *I should have liked* (emph.) *to do that too*; *but in letters, at any rate, I have accomplished something*. — *fidibus* (abl. inst.), *sc. canere*.

§ 27. *desidero*, *feel the want of*. — *alter*, see § 15. — *vox*, *language*. — *contemptior*, *more despicable*. — *Milonis* : Milo of Crotona, a Greek city of Magna Græcia, a famous athlete. It is of him that the story is told that, by lifting a calf every day, he was able to lift it when it became an ox. — *jam . . . esset*, *was now getting old*. — *at* : i. e. *I still live, but*, etc. — *Ælius* : Sex. Ælius Pætus, named *Catus* from his acuteness, the most distinguished jurist of his time : *juris civilis omnium peritissimus* (Cic. Brut. 78), cos. B.C. 198. The Ælian gens was distinguished for the number of jurists it produced. For Ti. Coruncanius, see note, § 15. P. Licinius Crassus, also an eminent jurist, *pontifex maximus*; cos. B.C. 205. — *jura civibus præscribebantur*, *the rights of their fellow-citizens were settled*, i. e. in their official opinion.

11. § 28. *orator*, *emphatic* : *as to the orator*, etc. — *est* (emph.), *for his task is indeed*, etc. — *omnino*, *to be sure*. — *canorum*, *resonance*. — *nescio quo pacto* (§ 67, 2, *e*), *somehow*. — *quod equidem*, etc., *and in fact I have not lost it yet*. — *decorus*, *becoming*. — *sermo*, *style*. — *remissus*, *unexcited*. — *composita*, *smooth*; *mitis*, *gentle*. — *si . . . nequeas*, *gen. cond.* (§ 59, 5, *a*). — *Scipioni*, etc.; i. e. *young men like them*.

§ 29. *omne . . . munus*, *the performance of every duty*. — *quo quidem opere*, *and than this task*. — *mihi vero videbantur*, *for my part I used to think*. — *Cn. et P. Scipiones*; two brothers who held command in the early years of the second Punic War, and who

fell in battle in Spain within a month of each other, B.C. 212. From them respectively were descended the two branches of the Scipio family. Publius was father of the elder Africanus; Cneius of Nasica, pronounced *optimus Romanorum* (§ 45), from whom were descended several generations with the same *agnomen*, all more or less famous. — **Æmilius**: L. Æmilius Paulus, cos. B.C. 216, killed in the battle of Cannæ, father of the victor of Pydna (see note, § 3), and grandfather of the younger Africanus. — **bonarum artium, liberal arts.** — **quamvis**, § 61, 2. — **etsi**, *though indeed*.

§ 30. **quidem**, *for instance.* — **ego**, opposed to Xenophon. — **Metellum**: L. Cæcilius Metellus, cos. B.C. 231 and 247, and *pontifex maximus*, grandfather of the well-known Metellus Macedonicus. — **puer**, *when I was a boy.* — **esse**, § 58, 11, b. — **extremo**: at his first consulship he must have been at least forty-three. — **mihi**: the dat. for the acc. here emphasizes the person. — **quidem**, *to be sure.* — **senile**, *the way with old men.*

§ 31. **videtisne**, *don't you see?* — **prædicet**, *talks at large.* Nestor is ingeniously introduced as an excuse for garrulity and an honorable example of age, as Ajax is of brute strength and the vigor of youth.

12. **si . . . acciderit**, intermediate clause, § 66, 1.

§ 32. **vellem equidem**, *I could wish to be sure.* — **queo**: this verb is used in later Latin only with a negative. — **non quidem . . . sed tamen** (below), equivalent to *though not endowed*; etc. — **Glabrione**: M'. Acilius Glabrio, probably ancestor of a family of some distinction in Cicero's time; as consul, B.C. 191, he defeated Antiochus the Great, at Thermopylæ. — **enervavit, unstrung**; **adfixit**, *broken down.* — **hospites**, *friends from abroad* (see "Orations," Rosc. Am. § 5, note). — **neq. enim**, *for (let me tell you) I never*, etc. — **laudato**, *much praised.* — **feri** (§ 70, 3, a): Cato takes the proverb to mean, "lead the quiet life of an old man;" it probably really means, "avoid the follies of youth." — **itaque**, etc., *and so, thus far no one has sought to meet me, to whom I was "engaged."* — **fuerim**, subj. of charact.

§ 33. **ne vos quidem**, *nor have you either.* — **modo** (§ 57, 3, c), *provided.* — **ne**, *assuredly.* — **tenebitur**, *held back.* — **Milo**, see § 27. — **Pythagoræ**, opposed to Milo, as head of the school in which he was a disciple. Once, it is said, while Pythagoras was discoursing, the roof gave way, and would have fallen but for the single strength of Milo. — **utrum . . . an**, § 71, 2. — **cum absit**, § 59, 1, a. — **cursum**, *succession.* — **simplex**, *unvarying.* — **sua tempestivitas**, *to each period of life its own fitness to the time.* — **ferocitas**, *fierce energy.* — **constantia**, *well settled.*

13. § 34. **Masinissa**, king of Numidia, a valuable ally to Scipio in the war with Hannibal; grandfather of Jugurtha. — **autem**, *on*

*the other hand.*—**siccitatem** = *toughness*; lit. freedom from humors, the supposed source of disease.—**officia**, *required duties*; **munera**, *functions*: privileges as well as duties.—**potest** (emphatic position), *can*, though often they do not.—**ne sint**, § 57, 3, c.—**postulantur a**, *required of* (not *by*).—**quod**, adv. acc. (§ 52, 3, a).

§ 35. **imbecilli**, *helpless*.—**omnino**, *at all*.—**quidem**, *at any rate*.—**vitium**, *defect* (connected with both **senectutis** and **valetudinis**).—**paternam**, *his father's*.—**resistendum** (§ 73, 1, R.), *we must make a stand* (old age being so far a matter of bodily health).

§ 36. **habenda ratio**, *regard must be had* (lit. *account must be taken of it*, a business term).—**utendum**, § 72, 5, b, R.—**subveniendum est**, *we must come to the relief*.—**quidem**, *it is true*.—**quos ait**, *those whom he speaks of as*.

14. **Cæcilius**, see note, § 24.—**comicos**, *of the comedy*, a stock character in Greek and Roman plays.—**hoc**, *by this*.—**petulantia**, *wantonness*.—**non proborum**, stronger than **improborum**.—**deliratio**, *dotage*.—**levium**, *frivolous*.

§ 37. **robustus**, *grown up*.—**languescens**, *though enfeebled*.—**auctoritatem**, *moral authority* (such as exists nowadays); **imperium**, *power of command*, or military authority, including power of life and death (implied in the *patria potestas*).—**metuebant servi** (emphatic position of the verb), *he was feared by his slaves, revered by his children, held dear by all*.

§ 38. **ita . . . si**, *only on condition that*.—**se ipsa defendit**, *is its own defence*.—**nemini mancipata**, *in no man's power*.—**ut enim**, etc., see § 32.—**sequitur**, *aims at*.—**conligo nunc cum maxime**, *just at this very time I am putting together*.—**conficio**: the speeches were carefully worked over afterwards by the orators for publication, as Cicero's were, — often quite different from the real ones, as in the case of Milo.—**adsum**, i. e. attend in the courts, etc., a regular duty of Roman citizens.—**ultro adfero**, i. e. not merely attend to the necessary business of the hour. Though no senator, strictly, could introduce a measure of his own motion, yet when called to vote, he could speak on any point whether "in order" or not, as did Cato (*delenda est Carthago*).—**tamen**, *even then*.—**sed ut possim**, etc. = *but I can, and that I can is the result of my past life*.—**viventi**, *while he lives*, depending grammatically on **obrepat**, but belonging also to **intellegitur**.—**intellegitur**, i. e. one does not notice.—**obrepat**, *creeps upon*.

15. § 39. **sequitur**, *next comes*.—**tertia**, see § 15.—**quod dicunt**, *because as they say*, etc. (notice the difference of the Latin idiom) —**ætatis**, *age*, standing here (as in English) for *old age*; rarely, as in § 45, it may mean *youth*.—**si quidem**, *if really*: nearly equivalent to *since*.—**orationem**, *discourse*; **tradita**, *reported*.—**Archytæ**: Archytas was a Pythagorean of Tarentum,

of about the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Plato died in 348).—**voluptatem**, § 67, I, b, R.—**avidæ**, i. e. *in their eagerness for*.—**temere**, *heedlessly*; **ecfrenate**, *uncurbed*.—**incitarentur**, *are impelled* (for the tense, see § 58, 10, d).

§ 40. **hinc** = **a corporis voluptate**.—**proditiones**, *acts of treason* (a common Latin use of the plural); **eversiones**, *overthrows*.—**nasci**, *spring*.—**denique**, *in a word*.—**scelus**, a more abstract term than **facinus**. In Cicero's time, **facinus** appears to have been mostly used in a bad sense; but not originally, and hence it is here qualified with **malum**.—**stupra vero**, *and as to debaucheries*, etc.—**excoitari**, *stirred up*.—**munerī**, *function* (if given by nature); **dono**, *gift* (if bestowed by divine power).

§ 41. **nec enim**, etc., *for* (of course) *there is no room for self-control when lust is tyrant*.—**fingerē animo**, *imagine*.—**jubebat, censebat**: observe the partial return to the direct narrative.—**percipi** (*reaped*) = *experienced*.—**nihil agitare**, *pursue no subject*.—**nihil . . . consequi**, *establish nothing by argument or reflection*.—**quocirca** resumes as a conclusion the first statement, **nullam esse**, etc., in the indirect form, whence the subjunctives **esset, exstingueret**.—**hæc**, etc., *thus my host Nearchus used to say (that) he had heard that Archytas discoursed with Pontius*. Pontius was the noble Samnite who gave the wise advice, that unless the Roman army at the Caudine Forks should be massacred to a man, it should be released without dishonorable conditions. The neglect of this counsel, with the infamous duplicity of the Romans, cost the life of that gallant state.—**cum quidem**, *at the very time when* (**interfuisset** is the subj. of indir. disc., not on account of **cum**).

**16. L. Camillo**, etc.: this was B.C. 349, the year before Plato's death. Plato's latest authentic visit to Sicily (his third) was 361; it is probable therefore that Cicero was wrong here.

§ 42. **quorsum hæc**, *what has this been driving at?* (§ 49, 2, c).—**intellegeretis**, etc., imperf. as following the implied past tense.—**invitus feci ut eicerem** (§ 70, 4, e) = *I reluctantly expelled*.—**T. Flaminini**, see § 1; his brother Lucius was consul B.C. 192. During his consulship he carried on war successfully in Cisalpine Gaul, at which time occurred the incident here related.—**fuisset**, subj. as following **eicerem**.—**septem annis**; this was the full number of years intervening between the consulship of L. Flamininus (B.C. 192) and the consulship of Cato and L. Flaccus (184); the censorship of T. Flamininus and M. Marcellus was B.C. 189. (The story is an illustration of the preceding sentence, but the old man's loquacity destroys the logical connection).—**notandam**; the technical word for the formal mark of disapprobation *nota censoria*, officially passed upon a man by the censors.—**exoratus est**, *was prevailed on*, compare Liv. xxxix, 43; Plutarch Flamin. 18.

§ 43. **Cineas**: Cineas was a pupil of Demosthenes, whom Pyrrhus sent as ambassador to Rome after his first victory, over Lævinus (B.C. 280). Two years later was the Roman embassy of Fabricius and others to Pyrrhus, to whom Cineas returned the hospitality which he had experienced in Rome. — **quendam**, i. e. Epicurus, whom Cicero never loses an opportunity to attack, and to whom the Stoics were especially opposed (see "Orations," note to Sest. § 9). — **ut id persuaderetur** (§ 51, 2, c, f), *that they might be persuaded of this*. — **Samnitibus**; the Samnites were a vigorous and powerful nation of Central Italy, the last and most persistent defenders of Italian independence against Rome. The third Samnite War ended, with their overthrow, B.C. 290. — **de-dissent**, for fut. perf. of dir. disc. — **vixerat** (emphatic): he had lived with him, and so knew him better than to suppose him influenced by pleasure. — **Decio**: P. Decius Mus, consul for the fourth time, B.C. 295. In his consulship was fought, at Sentinum, the decisive battle against the great coalition of Italian nations, headed by the Samnites (third Samnite War). When Decius saw that the battle was going hard with his men, he devoted himself to the gods by a solemn act of consecration (see Livy, viii. 9), rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and perished. His death was followed by a complete victory, which broke up the alliance, although the war dragged on five years longer. The story went that the father of Decius had devoted himself in like manner in the Latin War, forty-two years before, B.C. 337. — **Curius**, the oldest of the three statesmen here mentioned (cos. B.C. 290), had had personal intercourse (*vixerat*) with Decius; while Fabricius and Coruncanius were only acquaintances (*norat*). — **profecto**, *without question*. — **aliquid natura**, etc., the fundamental moral doctrine of the Stoics.

17. § 44. **cruditate, indigestion**. — **si dandum est . . . potest**, see § 64, 1, b. — **Duellium**, cos. B.C. 260, in which year he gained a naval victory over the Carthaginians. Knowing the superiority of the enemy in naval tactics, he undertook to balance this by a kind of boarding-bridge, which grappled the enemies' ships and held them fast, after which the battle became essentially a land fight, decided by the prowess of the soldiers rather than by naval manœuvres. This victory over the enemy on their own ground, in a branch of warfare in which the Romans were wholly inexperienced, naturally was of incalculable value in raising their spirits and confidence, and gained great reputation for their commander. A column, adorned with the beaks of ships, was erected on the Forum in his honor, of which fragments are still extant. — **sumpserat**: this honor appears to have been granted by authority, not assumed by himself, as the text would imply.

§ 45. **sodales**: the worship of the several gods was cared for by

a guild, *sodalitas*, consisting of a number of guild-brethren, *sodales*. Whenever a new worship was introduced, a new guild was organized to take charge of it. The innovation in Cato's quæstorship, here spoken of, could not have been the establishment of the *sodalitas*, for this was an institution of great antiquity; it was probably the custom of public banquets of the brethren that came up at this time. By the expression *habui semper sodales* Cato probably means that he has kept up his membership and his attendance at the banquets.—**Magnæ Matris**, i. e. Rea or Cybele, a goddess of nature, worshipped with wild rites on Mt. Ida, and in other parts of Asia Minor.

The Romans found in the Sibylline Books, during the war with Hannibal, a prophecy that a foreign enemy would be expelled from Italy when the Idæan mother should come from Pessinus to Rome. An embassy was accordingly sent to King Attalus of Pergamus, who actually gave into their possession the meteoric stone which was the fetish of this worship. The oracle prescribed that it should be received by the man *qui vir optimus Romæ esset*, and the Senate fixed upon the young Publius Scipio Nasica, son of Cneius (see § 29). From this time the worship of the Great Mother was one of the most popular of the religions of Rome: it was celebrated in the *Megalesia*, April 4-10, with processions, beating of drums, and dramatic exhibitions.

**omnino**, on the whole (opposed to the exception following).—**ipsorum** emphasizes *conviviorum*, as opposed to higher pleasures.—**sermonibus**, conversation.—**compotatio**, συμπόσιον; **concenatio**, συνδείπνον.

§ 46. **tempestivis**, beginning earlier, and continuing later than the usual hour.—**qui pauci**, § 50, 2, R<sup>3</sup>.—**modus**, degree.

**18. me**, i. e. for my part I like even formal drinking usages.—**magisteria**: the office of master or president of the feast (*magister, arbiter bibendi*), who regulated drinking and promoted hilarity.—**a majoribus**: it was, however, a Greek custom.—**more majorum**, i. e. with respect for age or rank.—**a summo**; the three tables of the *triclinium* formed three sides of a square, and were known as *summus, medius, imus*. Three guests, *summus, medius*, and *imus*, reclined at each table. The conversation began *a summo*, that is, at the extreme left, and was passed along from one to the other. The place of honor was the lowest at the middle table.—**Symposio**; the *Banquet*, one of Xenophon's works, in which Socrates is introduced.—**rorantia**, drunk by sips.—**ignis hibernus**, the winter's fire.—**in Sabinis**, on my Sabine estate.

§ 47. **quasi**, so to speak.—**ne . . . quidem**, not . . . either.—**adfecto ætate**, stricken in years.—**uteretur**, etc., enjoyed sensual pleasures.—**meliora**, sc. duint.—**vero**, why.—**istino**, from them (from those you speak of).—**agresti**, rough.—**non caret**: "inest velle in carendo" (Tusc. i. 36).

§ 48. **Turpione**: Turpio Ambivius, a leading actor of the time of Cato; he played in Terence's pieces.—**delectatur**, enjoys.—**cavea**: the part of the theatre occupied by the spectators, consist-

ing of concentric rows of seats rising one above the other, whence the name: **prima, ultima, front and back row** (§ 47, 8). — **propter**, *near at hand* (the original adverbial use of the preposition).

§ 49. **illa** = *the following*; **at**, opposed to the concession that age takes less delight. — **animum**, *the soul*. — **emeritis stipendiis**, *i. e. discharged from the service*. The required term of military service was sixteen years, after which the man, having served his campaigns ("earned his pay"), was exempt. — **si vero**, *if again*. — **tamquam**, *as it were*. — **otiosa**, *of retirement* (from public business). — **videbamus**, *we used to see*. — **Galum**: C. Sulpicius Gallus, cos. B.C. 166. He served as tribune of the soldiers under Æmilius Paulus (father of Scipio), B.C. 168, and foretold an eclipse of the moon on the night before the battle of Pydna. — **dimetiendi pæne**, *almost measuring out the universe*. — **illum . . . oppressit**, *he was overcome by*, etc. — **describere**, *draw*.

19. § 50. **quid**, *how is it?* — **levioribus**, *more trivial*. — **acutis**, *requiring a keen intellect*. — **quam gaudebat**, *what pleasure did he take*. — **Nævius**, "the first Roman who deserves to be called a poet, and, so far as the accounts preserved regarding him, and the few fragments of his works allow us to form an opinion, one of the most remarkable and most important names in the whole range of Roman literature" (Mommsen). He flourished in the last part of the third cent. B.C. He wrote comedies and tragedies, but his principal work was an epic, in Saturnian verse, on the history of the first Punic War, in which he himself had served. — **Plautus** lived shortly after Nævius, and translated (very freely) the comedies of Menander, Philemo, and others from the Greek. Twenty of these are extant (including both of those here mentioned), and form the earliest complete specimens of Roman literature now existing. — **vidi etiam** (emphatic), *I myself saw*: the earlier examples I had only heard of. — **Livium**: Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth (of Tarentum), was brought to Rome prisoner, and there (B.C. 240) exhibited the first plays, adapted from the Greek. These were wretched translations, so that it is only as helping to give an impulse that they can be reckoned as belonging to Roman literature. — **fabulam docuisset**, *brought out a play*: the regular word, from the author *teaching* the actors and chorus. — **Crassi**, see note, § 27. — **P. Scipionis**: not the young Scipio (Æmilianus) present, but his second cousin, P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, son of P. Nasica (see note, § 45). He received the name Corculum (from *cor*) from his intellectual eminence. — **his paucis diebus**, *a few days ago*. — **atqui**, *now*; **vero**, *then again*. — **Cethegum**; M. Cornelius Cethegus, cos. B.C. 204, is mentioned in Cicero's Brutus (§ 57) as the earliest Roman orator; *quem vero exstet, et de quo sit memoria proditum, eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est M.*

*Cornelius Cethegus*. — *Ennius*, see note, § 1. — *videbamus*, *I used to see*: Cethegus died B.C. 196. — *quæ . . . voluptates*, *what pleasures are there in feasts*, etc. — *pariter*, *in even pace*. — *honestum*, *honor to him*. — *illud*, *that famous saying*.

§ 51. *incredibiliter delector*, *I take a marvellous delight*. — *nec* (= *et non*) . . . *et*, regular correlatives in Latin (§ 43, 2, a). — *proxime accedere*, *to come nearest*. — *habent rationem* (a mercantile phrase), *deal* (lit. *keep a debt-and-credit account*). — *recusat imperium*, *dishonors one's draft* (also mercantile). — *me quidem*, *for my part*. — *non fructus modo* (referring to the preceding *fœnore*): i. e. that is not all, but the growth is as pleasant as the profit. — *quæ . . . aristarum*, this whole passage is full of technical terms of husbandry: *subacto*, *subdued*, or *well tilled*; *occæcatum*, *hid*, and *imprisoned*; *occatio*, really from *occa*, *harrow*: the etymology is absurd; *vapore*, *moist heat*; *diffundit*, *swells it*; *viriditatem*, *green growth* (the blade); *herbescentem*, *sprouting*; *nixa*, *supported by* (§ 54, 10, a); *geniculato*, *jointed*; *vaginis*, *sheaths*, covering the tender ear; *quasi pubescens*, *as if with the down of youth* (and so needing protection).

20. *fundit spici* (gen.) *frugem*, *yields the grain in the ear*. — *structam*, *arranged* (laid). — *vallo*, *rampart*: the beard of the grain is compared to the palisades of an entrenchment.

§ 52. *vitium*, *of vines* (as contrasted with standing grain). — *ortus*, etc., *growth*, *planting*, *propagation*. — *ut noscatis*, § 64, 1, b. — *vim ipsam*, *the mere vital force* (power of growth) as opposed to cultivation. — *acini vinaceo*, *grape-stone*. — *malleoli*, shoots cut from the last year's growth, in such a way as to take also the adjoining wood projecting on each side in the shape of a hammer: *prominens utrimque*, *malleoli speciem præbet* (Col.); *plantæ*, *suckers*, cut from the main stock; *sarmenta*, *scions*, cut from the ends of branches; *viviradices*, *quicksets*, taken with a bit of the root; *propagines*, *layers*, starting as a new plant while still connected underground with the parent stock, or pegged down to take root further on. — *nonne efficiunt*, etc., *are they not enough to fill any one* (however insensible) *with delight and wonder?* — *claviculis*, *tendrils*. — *quam serpentem*, *which as it twines*. — *multipli*, *manifold* (in many ways at once); *erratio*, *straying* (in many ways successively). — *amputans*, *trimming*. — *silvescat sarmentis*, *become a forest of shoots*. The growth of "new wood" (*sarmenta*) in one season from a single bud has sometimes amounted to more than 100 feet, including ramifications.

§ 53. *exsistit*, *starts forth*. — *tamquam*, etc., *close to the joints* (as it were) *of the runners*. — *suco* (*succo*), *moisture*. — *lætius*, *more gladdening*. — *ante*, see § 51. — *capitum jugatio*, *connecting of the tops* of the stakes or props (*adminicula*), for the vines to run



across; *reliatio*, *tying up*; *propagatio*, *training*, or guiding forward of the young shoots; *immissio*, *sparing* to grow; or, perhaps, training of other shoots in the spaces left. — *repastinationes*, *trenching*.

§ 54. *dixi* (emphatic), *I have already told*. — *de rebus rusticis*: the title of the book is *De Re Rustica*. It is tolerably well preserved. — *doctus*, like the Greek *σοφός*, *skilled*, often used of poets. The reference is to Hesiod's "Works and Days." — *ne verbum quidem*: probably because the rich plains of Bœotia needed no manuring. — *Laërtam*, Laërtes, father of Ulysses (Od. xxiv. 225). The *desiderium* is for the long absence of his son at the siege of Troy, and during his subsequent wanderings. Homer does not represent him as *stercorantem*, but as digging, which in Cicero's mind might include the other.

21. *segetibus*, *grain-fields*; *pratibus*, *meadows* (for grazing); *arbutis*, usually plantations of trees for the training of vines, as may be seen at the present day in Italy; here, perhaps, olive-groves and the like. — *hortis*, *kitchen gardens*; *pomariis*, *fruit-orchards*. — *consitiones*, *insitiones*; the plural is used to indicate the various modes of planting and grafting.

§ 55. *rerum rusticarum*, *rural life*. — *ea ipsa quæ*, *even what*. — *provectus*, *was carried away*. — *ne videar* (§ 64, I, b), of course said jocosely. — *eam*, observe the emphatic position. — *M. Curius*, see note, § 43. — *villam*, *farm-house*. — *ego*, expressed because *cujus* is emphatic. — *disciplina*, assigning the merit to the training of those times.

§ 56. *dixit*, *as he said*. — *poteratne non*, *could it fail?* — *sed venio*: what was just said had no relation to farming. — *in agris*, a *villa*, emphatic position: *it was in the country that*, etc. — *Cincinnato*: Cincinnatus was dictator twice. The famous incident of his being called from the plough belongs to his first dictatorship, B.C. 458; the second (B.C. 439), *seditionis sedandæ causa*, was occasioned by the uneasiness of the patricians at the popularity and ambition of Spurius Mælius. The only offence of Mælius, so far as was proved, was that he lavished his wealth to relieve the poor in a time of famine. This brought him into suspicion of scheming to make himself king, and rumor had it that he had filled his house with arms, and held nightly meetings of conspirators. — *aranti*, (emphatic position), *it was while ploughing*. — *arcessebatur*, this tense expresses the practice in old times; *viatores*, from *via*, the broad country roads. — *se oblectabant*, *solaced themselves*. — *in gratiam redeamus*, *be reconciled with*.

22. *hortum* (emphatic), *and as to the garden*. — *conditura*: fowling and hunting give a spice to these necessary and regular occupations. (Preserve the emphasis by using the passive: "*these are made more palatable by*," etc.). — *supervacaneis operibus*, *by employments of our leisure*.

§ 57. *specie, sightliness.* — *melius, better* (than in the country). — *refrigerari, refresh itself.*

§ 58. *habēant . . . relinquunt*, observe the *chiastic* arrangement. — *clavam, single-stick*; *pilam, ball*; *talos*, a kind of dice marked only on four sides, or *huckle-bones*, tossed in the air and caught on the back of the hand, just as boys do now: five at a time were used; *tesseras, dice*, inscribed with numbers. — *id ipsum, and that too*; *utrum* (= *utrumque*) *lubebit, as (whichever) they like.*

§ 59. *Xenophontis libri*: three small treatises on husbandry, horsemanship, and hunting (with hounds). — *Oeconomicus*: including husbandry, or the general management of an estate. — *regem, prince*, belonging to the royal family. — *Lysander*, a distinguished Spartan general, who defeated the Athenians at *Ægospotami*, B.C. 404. He used against Athens the aid and treasure of Cyrus. — *Sardis*, acc. plur. (lit *to him, to Sardis*). — *proceritates* = *proceras arbores*. — *derectos, laid off*. — *in quincuncem*; the rows so disposed that every combination of three trees forms the letter V. — *subactam, subdued* by skilful tillage. — *puram, clean* (of weeds or rubbish). — *adflarentur, wasted*. — *ejus a quo, etc., of the one who had planned and arranged it.*

23. *atqui ego, but I am the one that, etc.* — *istas, those you speak of*. — *nitorem corporis, his body shining with ointment*. — *virtuti tuæ* (emph.), *your own merit*.

§ 60. *hac igitur* (emph.), *this fortune, then, old men can enjoy, etc.* — *studia, interest in*. — *Corvinum*: M. Valerius Corvinus, one of the leading men of Rome in the fourth century B.C.; distinguished in the first Samnite War. His *cognomen* was derived from the circumstance that, when he was engaged in single conflict with a Gaul, a raven perched on his helmet and attacked the Gaul with his beak and claws (Livy, vii. 26). — *quidem, for example*. — *perduxisse, sc. senectutem*. — *quantum spatium, i. e. forty-five years* (see note, § 2). — *autem, now*. — *apex, the crowning glory*.

§ 61. *Metello*, see note, § 30. — *Calatino*: a leader in the first Punic War, cos. B.C. 258 and 254. He was also dictator. — *primarium virum, the first of men*. — *Crassum*, see note, § 27. — *Lepidum*: M. Æmilius Lepidus, cons. B.C. 187 and 175; *pontifex maximus*, and six times appointed *princeps senatus*, the highest dignity in the State. At his death in 152 he charged his sons to bury him with no display and moderate expense: — *imagine specie, non sumptibus nobilitari magnorum virorum funera solere* (Liv. Epit. xl.). — *Paulo*, the conqueror of Macedonia. — *Maximo*, Q. Fabius, see § 10. — *pluris sit, is worth more*.

§ 62. *mementote, you must bear in mind*. — *adulescentiæ, i. e. of honorable youth, implied in fundamentis*.

**24.** *quæ se defenderet* (subj. of charact.), i. e. which has occasion to defend itself. — *cani*, gray locks.

§ 63. *salutari*, to have men call on you (as the Romans did early in the morning); *adpeti*, grasp your hand; *decedi*, make way for you (impersonal); *adsurgere*, rise at your entrance; *deduci*, escort you (down to the forum); *reduci*, escort home; *consuli*, ask your advice. — *quæ*, things which. — *ut quæque*, etc., in proportion as their morals are good. — *Athenis*, abl. of place; *ludiis*, of time. — *honestissimum*, most full of honor. — *ludiis*, sc. *Panathenæis*: the great Athenian festival, commemorating the union of the demes of Attica into one city. It was held once in four years in the month *Hecatombæon* (July), and comprised all features of Grecian festivals.

§ 64. *multiplex*, i. e. in many ways. — *nostro collegio*, i. e. of augurs. — *sententiæ principatum*, precedence in giving his opinion. In the Senate the order was, first acting magistrates, then ex-magistrates (*honore antecedentibus*); but in this college age had precedence. — *cum imperio sunt*, are invested with the *imperium*, or supreme power; that is, hold an office of the highest grade, consul or prætor. — *fabulam peregiisse*, to have acted out the play. — *conruisse*, broken down.

§ 65. *morum vitia*, defects of character. — *non quidem*, not, it is true. — *probari*, appear plausible. — *offensio*, vexation (*contre-temps*).

**25.** *inludi*, i. e. treated with mock respect. — *Adelphis*: "The Brothers," one of the plays of Terence, still extant. It was represented for the first time at the funeral of L. Æmilius Paulus (father of Scipio), B.C. 160. — *diritas* (*duritas*), harshness; *comitas*, gentleness. — *quid sibi velit*, what it means.

§ 66. *sollicitam habere*, keep it anxious. — *certe*, at all events. — *non viderit*, has not seen (for himself). — *neglegenda*, made nothing of. — *aliquo*, into some place. — *atqui tertium certe*: this cheerful view of a future state was the common ground of ancient philosophy. It is stated with strong emphasis and conviction in Plato's "Apology of Socrates" (see Tusc. i. 41).

§ 67. *quid timeam*, § 57, 6. — *exploratum*, made clear. — *tristius curantur*, i. e. their treatment costs more pain. — *viveretur*, mankind would live. — *qui si*, etc., and if there had been none. — *quod . . . crimen*, what sort of a charge is that?

§ 68. *optimo filio*, see Introduction. — *fratribus*, two younger sons of Æmilius Paulus, who died, the one aged 12, five days before his father's triumph over Perseus, the other aged 15, eight days afterwards. As his two elder sons had been adopted into the Fabian and Cornelian *gentes*, he left no representatives of his family.

**26.** § 69. *quamquam*, and yet. — *da . . . tempus*, grant the very greatest age. — *Tartessorum*: Tartessus, a town in the south

of Spain, of Phœnician origin. It was at the height of its prosperity under King Arganthonius, about B.C. 550. Afterwards Gades, *Cádiz*, became the chief town of this region, for which reason Cicero mentions it here as if it were identical with Tartessus.

§ 70. *ut placeat, to give pleasure.*—*modo probetur*, § 57, 3, *c.*—*plaudite*, the last word of the play, calling upon the spectators to applaud.—*significat, typify.*

§ 71. *ante partorum bonorum, of previously acquired blessings* (in philosophical sense).—*secundum naturam, following nature:* the Stoic maxim.

27. *quoad possis, general condition.*—*animosior, more courageous.*—*qua tandem re, on what thing, pray.*—*coagmentavit, compacted.*

§ 73. *Solonis*: Solon was one of "the seven wise men of Greece."—*vacare, be without.*—*consequatur*, subj. of indir. disc. following *esse*.

§ 74. *sensus moriendi, sensation in dying.*—*in exiguum tempus, only for a moment.*—*meditatum, dwelt upon, lit. practised.*—*ab adolescentia, from youth.*

28. *incertum an, we know not but.*—*animo consistere, have any firmness of mind.*

§ 75. *Brutum*: L. Junius Brutus, the leader in the revolution which expelled the Tarquins from Rome, B.C. 509.—*Decios*, see note, § 43.—*Attilium*: M. Atilius Regulus, a commander in the first Punic War. The story goes that, being captured by the enemy, he was sent to Rome to treat for an exchange of prisoners, under a promise to return; that he advised his countrymen, however, against the exchange, and returned to Carthage and died there: it was believed that he was put to death with horrible tortures. This story of the embassy has been generally held doubtful since the time of Niebuhr.—*Sciptones*, see note, § 29.—*Paulum*, see § 29: his colleague Varro, whose mismanagement brought on the disaster of Cannæ, escaped alive, while Paulus perished.—*Marcellum*: M. Claudius Marcellus, a leading commander in the second Punic War; killed in an ambushade, in his fifth consulship, B.C. 208. His chief exploit was the capture of Syracuse, B.C. 212.—*alacri . . . erecto, with high and eager courage.*—*indocti, untrained* (in philosophy).

§ 76. *omnino, on the whole (to sum up all).*—*studia certa, appointed tasks.*—*constans . . . media, well-settled period of middle life, so called.*—*occidunt, fall away.*—*maturum, seasonable.*

§ 77. *cur, quid*, each interrogative introducing an indirect question.—*quo . . . propius absum, the nearer I am to it.*—*Læli*: the father of Lælius was a very intimate friend of Cato.—*eam vitam [vivere], to live that kind of life.*—*compagibus, pent-house.*

—munere . . . perfungimur, *we are fulfilling (as it were) a task of necessity and a burdensome work.*

**29.** ratio ac disputatio, *theory and argument.*

§ 78. incolae: because the chief seat of the Pythagoreans was Crotona, in Magna Græcia (Southern Italy). — quin . . . habere-mus (§ 58, 10, d), *that we have souls drawn (as drops from a fountain) from the universal divine intelligence.* — Soocrates: in Plato's celebrated dialogue "Phædo." — sapientissimus:

"Whom, well inspired, the oracle pronounced  
Wisest of men." — *Paradise Regained.*

— disseruisset (§ 66, 1, c). — prudentia, *foresight.* — sem-per agitur, *is always in motion.* That which follows is a brief statement of the Platonic argument. — sciro pleraque, etc.: the existence of innate ideas is an essential part of this argument. — reminisci, *call to mind; recordari, dwell upon in thought.*

§ 79. Cyrus, in the *Cyropædia*, viii. 7, (17-22): the expression is somewhat changed in passing through the lips of Cato, but the general thought is the same.

**30.** § 80. neo vero, etc., the honors paid the dead prove that their souls still live. — emori, *perish.* — insipientem, *incapable of sense.* — atque etiam, *and again.* — natura, *constitution.* — jam vero, *and finally.*

§ 81. atqui, *now.* — remissi, *unhampered* (cf. § 37, *intentum tamquam arcum*). — collitote ut deum: the second form (fut. imp.), because the command is to be performed in future. The expression in Xenophon is, "If these things are as I think, and the soul forsakes (survives) the body, do what I ask in reverence of my soul." — hanc (with a gesture), *this glorious universe.*

§ 82. nos, *we on our part.* — patrem aut patrum, Publius and Cneius Scipio (see note, § 29). — nisi cernerent, *without seeing.* — excessisset, for fut. perf. indic., attracted to subj by *esset.* — suscepturum fulsisso, *would have undertaken*, (§ 67, 1, c). — nescio quomodo, *somehow or other.*

**31.** immortalitatis gloriam = *deathless glory.*

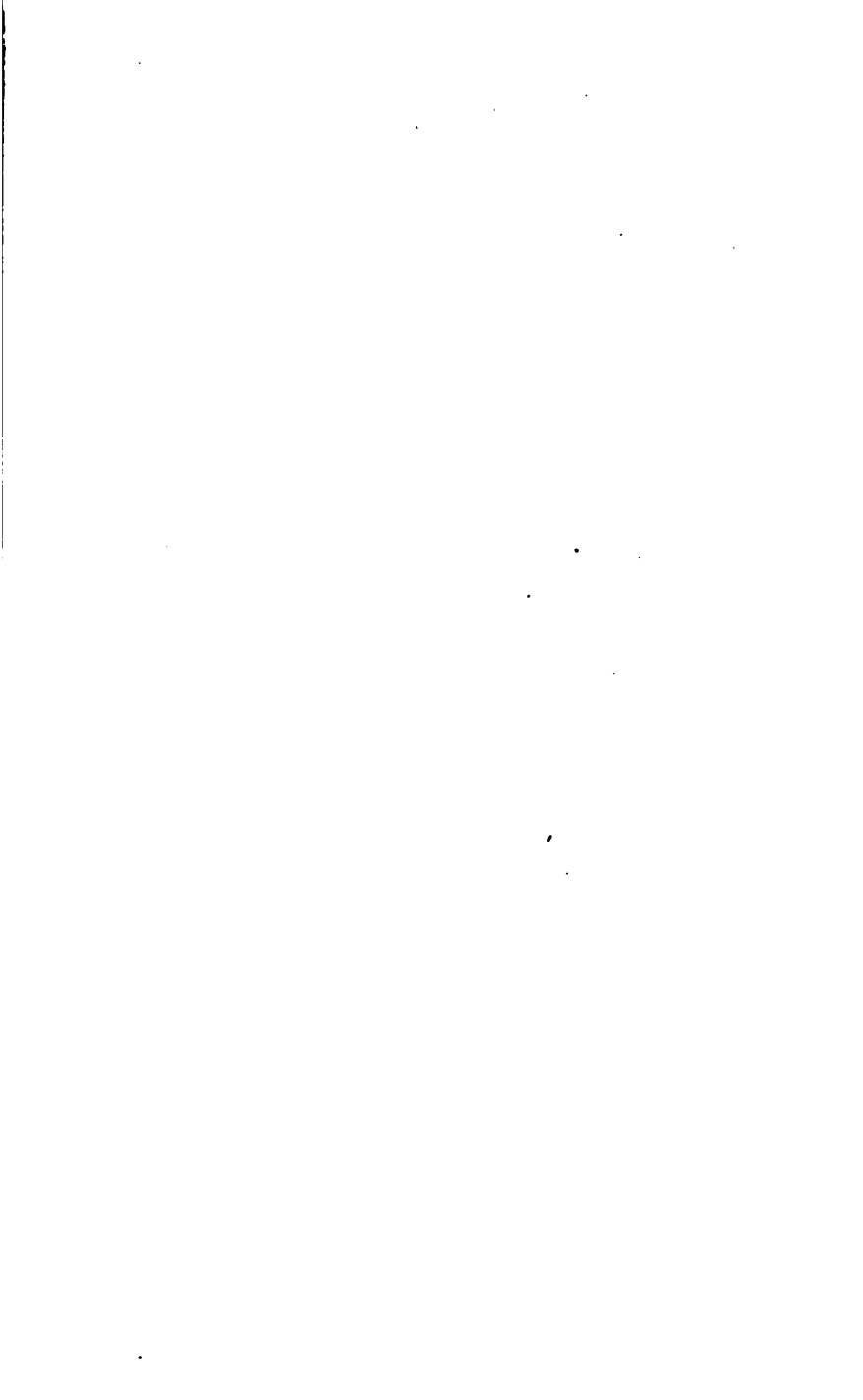
§ 83. equidem, *for my own part.* — efferor, *I am carried away.* — aveo, *I am eager.* — retraxerit, fut. perf. for fut. (§ 58, 7, R.). — conscripsi, in the *Origines*. — Pellam: Pelias, son of Poseidon, and usurping king of Iolcos. It was he who sent his nephew Jason, the rightful king, for the Golden Fleece. When the enchantress Medea returned with Jason to Iolcos, she persuaded the daughters of Pelias to cut up their father and boil him in a cauldron in order to make him young again, having first done the same herself with Æson the father of Jason. She took pains, however, that the enchantment should fail with them, and thus avenged her husband upon his enemy. — spatio, see note, § 14. — calce, *the goal*, anciently marked with chalk or lime.

§ 84. *non lubet, I've no inclination.* — *multi et ii docti, many men, and learned men too.* — *pœnitet, regret.* — *devorsorium, an inn* (for turning aside from the highway).

§ 85. *habeat, sc. commodi.* — *sane, if you will.* — *tamen, after all.* — *conluvione, confused medley (muddle).* — *Catonem meum, his son* (see Introd.). — *quod contra, whereas on the contrary* (compare *quem contra*, Phil. ii. 8, 18). — *dequit (§ 58, 11, a), sc. cremari.* — *respectans, looking back upon me.* — *profecto, doubtless.*

32. *non quo, § 66, 1, d, R.* — *æquus, untroubled.* — *digressum, walking in different paths;* *discessum, separation* from one another.

§ 86. *his, notice the emphasis.* — *qui . . . credam, i. e. in thinking* (§ 65, 2, e). — *libenter erro, I am glad to err.* — *minuti, petty.* — *peractio, the closing act* (see § 5): the word occurs nowhere else. — *defetigationem, utter weariness.*



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# *Parallel References.*

A. & G.		G.	A. & G.		G.	A. & G.		G.
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	d	" R		l	428 R 3		i	436
	3	667		m	431		R	" R I
	R	" R I	73	n	427		2	437
	a	" R 2		o	" R L, 426		R	" R I



